That wonderful composite called author: Authorship in East Asian literatures from the beginnings to the seventeenth century

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Preface

This volume on authorship exemplifies one of its modes that receives repeated attention in it: collective, or, in our case, even collaborative authorship. While we, the editors, came up with the initial idea – or, to say it more modestly, the initiative to treat this subject matter – whatever was in that idea grew with the help of many people, not all of whom appear as authors of single contributions in this volume. Like all scholars, we are standing on the shoulders of those who worked on our (and neighbouring) subjects before us, and our gratitude is not restricted to the giants among them. The ideas expressed in this volume, and especially the methodological part of its introduction, are also the result of fruitful conversations with colleagues who participated in the process of its making, but abstained from presenting a written contribution to it. We would like to especially mention those among them who presented pertinent work at a symposium held at University of Zurich's Institute of East Asian Studies in February 2009: Paul van Els (“Texts, Authors, Pseudonyms: The Case of the Two Wenzi’s”) , Konrad Klaus (“Concepts of Authorship in Ancient India”), Matías Martínez (“Inspired Authorship. A Survey of Variants and Functions in the European-Christian Tradition”), and Jörg Quenzer (“Concepts of Authorship in Heian period monogatari literature”). As the titles of their presentations show, we had initially envisioned a volume that would have stretched over the whole Eurasian continent, but this idea proved impractical in the end, and we have now confined ourselves to East Asian literatures from the beginning to early modernity (i.e., 17th century China). Even so, we are painfully aware that we can cover only small and disconnected parts of this ground. It is our hope, however, that we help with this volume to keep the issue of authorship in East Asia on the map, and that we provide useful ideas and concepts for expanding it.

Both the symposium and the preparation of the volume were made possible through financial support from our home institutions, University of Zurich and Bonn University, and through the work of many people. Esther Fischer was crucial in organising and running the symposium in 2010, Felix Herrmann copy-edited and formatted the volume to make it presentable to our publisher and reviewers, two anonymous peers provided helpful insights and criticisms, and

Qin Higley guided us safely through the publishing process at Brill. We are deeply grateful to all of them.

Zurich and Bonn, August 2013

Raji Steineck and Christian Schwermann

Introduction

Raji C. Steineck and Christian Schwermann

The author: a theoretical vexation

The author was declared dead forty years ago, with a French fanfare.[1] This polemical announcement, echoed since the 1990s by enthusiasts of digital culture[2], was not the end, but rather the beginning of a theoretical discussion that has served to differentiate and clarify our notions of authorship.[3] By now, it seems safe to say that the author, as a concept, has returned for good. He has proved an inevitable category for interpretation, and not only a necessary evil, but also "useful" in many respects. The author that needed to "die" was the author with a capital A, the figure of an omnipotent source of the text and its meaning. This author concept has been demonstrated to be a product of a specific cultural discourse.[4] Far from being universal, it is firmly embedded in European classical modernity.[5]

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[1] Roland Barthes, "La mort de l'auteur", in: *Œuvres complètes II*: 1966–1973, ed. by Éric Marty, Nouvelle édition, Paris: Seuil, 2004: 491-95; Julia Kristeva, "Le mot, le dialogue et le roman", in: *Sēmeiōtikē: recherches pour une sémanalyse*, Collection Points 96 Paris: Seuil, 1978: 82–112.

[2] George Landow, *Hypertext 3.0 : critical theory and new media in an era of globalization*, 3rd ed. Baltimore, London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006; Sadie Plant, *Zeroes ones : digital women, the new technoculture*, 1st ed. New York: Doubleday, 1997.

[3] For a critical review of this discussion, see Seán Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author: Criticism and Subjectivity in Barthes, Foucault and Derrida*, 3rd ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Pres, 2008. With respect to the discussion of digital culture, see also Michael Betancourt, "*Hz #10* – The Valorization of the Author" Internet-Journal, <http://www.hz-journal.org/n10/betancourt.html>.

[4] Michel Foucault, *Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur? : séance du 22 février 1969*, Paris: Colin, 1969; Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author", in: *Authorship: From Plato to the Postmodern*, ed. by Seán Burke. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995: 233–46.

[5] Donald E. Pease, "Author", in: Burke, ed.: *Authorship: From Plato to the*

The deconstruction of the author as a given unit and safe anchor for validity in interpretation and the subsequent reconstruction of authorship as a valuable category for analysis have opened up new avenues for research. This is especially true for the fields of premodern and non-European literature, where the author paradigm had often been more of a hindrance to the appreciation and interpretation of the texts in question.[6] Reconstructed models of authorship have thus been greeted with some enthusiasm, and have been applied to various works and corpora, from the Chinese Book of Changes (*Yijing* 易經)[7] to the Old Testament's Book of Kings[8], from Chaucer[9] to the Tale of Genji (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語).[10]

This volume seeks to build on this development, and to provide a survey of forms, models and concepts of authorship in traditional Asian literatures.

Authorship, revisited: Results from the theoretical dispute

In the following paragraphs, we would like to summarise some essential points from the critical discussion of authorship, and synthesise these into an operational model. The aim of this model is not to formulate a new theory or even philosophy of authorship, but rather to provide a tool for the description and differentiation of specific forms of authorship through textual and contextual analysis.

Postmodern, 263–76.

[6] Horst Wenzel, "Autorenbilder. Ausdifferenzierung Von Autorenfunktionen in Mittelalterlichen Miniaturen", in: *Autor und Autorschaft im Mittelalter*, ed. by Elisabeth Andersen. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998: 1.

[7] William G Boltz, "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts", in: *Text and ritual in early China*, ed. by Martin Kern. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005: 50–78.

[8] Barbara Schmitz, *Prophetie und Königtum,* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.

[9] Seth Lerer, *Chaucer and his readers: imagining the author in late-medieval England.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.

[10] Uehara Sakukazu 上原作和 et al., *Tēma de yomu Genji monogatari ron* テーマで読む源氏物語論, vol. 3. Bensei shuppan, 2009.

1) The author is not a simple, given unit, but rather the index of a congeries of problems relating to the text. As Burke remarks in his critical assessment of the critique of the author: "So far from consolidating the notion of a universal or unitary subject, the retracing of the work to its author is a working-back to historical, cultural and political embeddedness."[11]

2) The meaning of a text cannot be reduced to a function of authorial intention, nor to any other single explanatory instance. Alexander Nehamas remarked in his philosophical inquiry *What an Author Is* that "Writers are actual individuals, firmly located in history, efficient causes of their texts. They often misunderstand their own work and are as confused about it as we frequently are about the sense and significance, indeed the very nature, of our actions."[12] While that is certainly correct, this does not mean that a text must be seen as completely independent from authorial subjectivity, or that its writer's intentions are totally irrelevant to its interpretation.[13] Furthermore, the replacement of the author with other explanatory instances only reiterates the problems of reductionism:

> The blindness of all determinist models of the literary text is that they eschew any possibility of compatibilism ...Yet whilst subjectivity is the outcome, the effect of the impersonal Other (in any of its post-structural forms), it still remains as subjectivity, as something to be located and specified. Nor is there indeed any reason why the subjectivity thus constituted need be uniform or purely functional. If the author is the site of a collision between language, culture, class, history, *episteme,* there is still every reason to assume that the resultant subject should be constructed in each case differently, the psyche thus forged being irreducible to any of those forces in particular.[14]

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[11] Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author*, 202.

[12] Alexander Nehamas, "What an Author Is", in: *The Journal of Philosophy* 83, no. 11 (November 1986): 686.

[13] Fotis Jannidis, "Der nützliche Autor. Möglichkeiten eines Begriffs zwischen Text und historischem Kontext", in: *Rückkehr des Autors. Zur Erneuerung eines umstrittenen Begriffs. Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur* 71. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999: 384–89.

[14] Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author*, 174.

Authorial subjectivity thus remains, as one explanatory instance among others. It is also the junction from which to follow various possible roads of elucidation, which may lead from the writer to tradition, to other texts, to language, to orders of discourse, and so forth. The main functions of the author-instance for textual analysis can conveniently be structured according to a three-dimensional matrix of *origination, responsibility* (including *authority*), and *interpretation. Origination* pertains to the actual production of documents and texts and, therefore, with questions of *fact. Responsibility* for a text is ascribed or assumed in relation to, but not necessarily in accordance with, the facts of origination; it is chiefly an ideological function, strongly related to the valorization of a text, its form, and its contents. Once a literary work is accepted as valid, authority can accrue both to the text itself and the person who is thought to be responsible for its existence and meaning.[15] It was this social author function which, together with certain social, cultural, economic and technological preconditions, led to the establishment of the author as an omnipotent source of the text and its meaning in classical European modernity.[16] Finally, *interpretation* of a text makes use of authorial instances in determining, among other things, its contexts, cognitive and moral horizons.

3) Authorial subjectivity does not have to reside in a single individual alone. "The Author" impersonated a rather rare constellation in cultural history, in which, partly in fact and partly in cultural imagination, most important functions in the production of a culturally relevant text coincided.[17] Empirical analysis of these functions opens the way to the conceptualisation of distributed or composite authorship, which has been more of a rule in many literary traditions.

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[15] For an exploration of the complex relationships between literary production and the gain of authority in early Chinese literature see Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China,* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

[16] Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 25-59.

[17] Martha Woodmansee, "On the Author Effect: Recovering Collectivity", in: *Cardozo Arts & Entertainment Law Journal* 10 (1991): 279–92.

Winko in her analysis of recent interpretations published in leading academic journals in the field of German literature has identified the following productive functions attributed to authors:
a) origination ("Urheberschaft"): the author as the originator of a text and its material basis;
b) selection: the author as a cause of what a text says or does not say.
c) organisation, composition and figuration: authorship as "the power to shape a text" (*Gestaltungsmacht*);
d) generation of meaning: this may be understood in a strong sense (the author-intention is what makes the text meaningful; the text has the meaning the author gave it), or in a weaker sense: the author creates (intentionally or unintentionally) structures that readers may use to construct a meaning.[18] In the case of anonymous works, author figures may be invented to create meaning through contextualisation.

Jannidis derived the following list from an analysis of Herder, Lukács, and Greenblatts *Shakespearean Negotiations*:[19]
a) selection of textual materials;
b) textual "Gestaltung" (organisation, composition, figuration);
c) origination of meaning (relative or absolute);
d) production of insight;
e) innovation.[20]

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[18] Simone Winko and Heinrich Detering, "Autor-Funktionen. Zur argumentativen Verwendung von Autorkonzepten in der gegenwärtigen literaturwissenschaftlichen Interpretationspraxis." In: *Autorschaft: Positionen und Revisionen.* Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002: 348–49.

[19] Johann Gottfried Herder, "Shakespeare" in: *Selected writings on aesthetics.* Princeton, N. J: Princeton University Press, 2006: 291–307; Johann Gottfried Herder, "Shakespear", in: *Von deutscher Art und Kunst.* Stuttgart: Reclam, 1968; Georg Lukács, *Faust und Faustus: vom Drama der Menschengattung zur Tragödie der modernen Kunst,* 5th ed. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1975; Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: the Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England.* Berkeley, Oxford, 1988.

[20] Jannidis, "Der nützliche Autor. Möglichkeiten eines Begriffs zwischen Text und historischem Kontext"; Fotis Jannidis, "Autorfunktion", in: *Metzler Lexikon Literatur- und Kulturtheorie : Ansätze, Personen, Grundbegriffe,* pub. by Ansgar Nünning, 4th ed. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2008: 38.

To this may be added the adduction of knowledge (e.g. about the correct sources, be it of a story or a doctrine, or of insight) as an essential function of authors, especially outside of the classical modern paradigm. [21]

These, partly overlapping, lists of functions may be seen as differential analysis of an integral "origination function" that used to be attributed to the Author in totality. Since the attribution of all these differentiated functions to a single individual appears so natural within the cultural framework of European classical modernity, it is important to reiterate that, in many literary cultures – including pre-modern Europe –, it would be more of an exception. This is illustrated by Christoph Harbsmeier's following statement concerning writing culture in ancient China:

> Traditionally, there was a division of labour in ancient China between the person who uses the knife or the brush to inscribe texts on various materials and the person who creates the texts that specialists in writing write down. Writing was originally a specialised craft and it remained a menial, often an anonymous task. The function of the editor / compiler was separate both from that of the originator of the linguistic content of the text and from that of the person responsible for the production of a given inscribed material object.[22]

This distribution may become even more extensive when other functions listed by Jannidis, such as the production of insight or innovation, are introduced into the picture. Furthermore, there is no reason to content oneself with the lists above, which are derived from a limited corpus. Additional functions may be found in the pertinent literature, depending on cultural expectations with respect to texts and their sources. Conversely, some functions from the lists above may be meaningless within a different context. "Innovation",

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[21] Silvia Schmitz, "Die 'Autorität' des mittelalterlichen Autors im Spannungsfeld von Literatur und Überlieferung", in: *Autorität der / in Sprache, Literatur, neuen Medien*, pub. by Jürgen Fohrmann, Ingrid Kasten, and Eva Neuland, Vol. 2, Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1999: 465–83.

[22] Christoph Harbsmeier, "Authorial Presence in Some Pre-Buddhist Chinese Texts", in: *De l'un au multiple. Traductions du Chinois vers les langues Européennes*, ed. by Viviane Alleton and Michael Lackner, Paris: Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1999: 221–54, here 222.

for example, is negatively valorised in many traditions and, therefore, conveniently forgotten. "Exact mnemonic reproduction" would, on the other hand, be an important function e.g. in the context of Buddhist literature.

Harbsmeier's reference to the "division of labour" serves to remind us that some, but not all functions may have crystallised into distinct social roles or even professions. On the other hand, not all of the functions need to be fulfilled by individual human beings. Space should be left open for impersonal, anonymous forces that may generate certain aspects of a text.

To sum up, in order to accurately describe the "origination function" as part of an analysis of the authorship of a given text, various differential functions have to be kept in mind and investigated. The result of such an investigation can be described as a picture of the specific "author constellation" pertinent to a given text. The "author constellation", therefore, describes the efficient causes in the production of a text and/or document, and serves to firmly situate it in an empirical context with historical, cultural, and social dimensions.

4) If we use Foucault's term of the "author function" to denote the aggregate of the significance for a text traditionally associated with the Author, the "origination function" amounts to only one part of this overarching function. Another part might be designated as the "responsibility function" – and this part has drawn much more ideological attention. Foucault himself highlighted the double face of "responsibility", which not only denotes the authority attributed to the classical Author, but also the fact that someone may have to answer for what has been written – in terms of penal law, or other forms of sanction. In other words, authorial responsibility is firmly situated in the field of power. Acknowledgement of this fact should dissuade a purely intratextual analysis of authorship, and it explains much of the heat in the controversy about the author.

5) Obviously, "responsibility" is intricately linked to, but not identical with, "origination". On this side of the author function, we have to deal with the various conceptualisations of authorship as

they appear inside and outside of the text, including their cultural valorisations.

A first question, then, pertains to the terminology as an index of the established concepts of authorial responsibility. A *locus classicus* is Bonaventura's list of authorial modes:

a) scribe: someone who merely writes down received textual material;

b) compiler: someone who collates various received textual materials;

c) commentator: someone who collates received textual materials and self-composed texts, while treating the received material as primary and his/her own composition as secondary.

d) auctor: someone who combines received textual materials and self-composed texts, while treating the received material as secondary.[23]

The classical Author, who figures predominantly as the creator of "original compositions"[24], is conspicuously absent from this list. There is also no name for those who exclusively produce texts to be written down by someone else (the scribes), because Bonaventura is talking about the production of books.

Further differentiation is possible in reference to the responsibility for the content assumed, and it should be remembered that one and the same individual can assume different authorial modes in different texts, or even in a single text.

The authorial mode of a "reporter" or "witness", who purports to record truly what he or she has perceived, is different from that of

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[23] ". . . quadruplex est modus faciendi librum. Aliquis enim scribit alienam materiam nihil addendo, vel mutando; et iste mere dicitur scriptor. Aliquis scribit aliena addendo, sed non de suo: et iste compilator dicitur. Aliquis scribit et aliena, et sua; sed aliena tanquam principalia, et sua tanquam annexa ad evidentiam; et iste dicitur commentator. Aliquis scribit et sua, et aliena; sed sua tanquam principalia, aliena tanquam annexa ad confirmationem: et talis debet dici auctor." *S. Bonaventura opera omnia*. Ed. by A.C. Peltier. Tom. 1. Paris: Vivès, 1864: 20. (*In librum primum sententiarum, prooemium, quaestio IV, conclusio*.)

[24] Edward Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition*, pub. by Edith J. Morely, Modern Language Texts, English Series, London, New York, Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co, 1918.

the "creator", who assumes responsibility for the *invention* of specific content – be it a theory or a fiction. Another authorial mode would be that of the "translator", who transposes/reproduces textual content in a different linguistic form. Even within the notion of an author responsible for the content and form of a text, there are important variations. It has been noted that the *auctor* in a medieval European sense was "a person who possessed *auctoritas* and who might also have produced texts that were known as *auctoritates ...,* that had been proved to have transcended the limitations of the inevitably fallible men who wrote them."[25] In contrast, modern legal discourse disjoins questions of text production from those of moral, intellectual, or aesthetic authority,[26] while classical modern aesthetic and critical discourses re-instated authorial authority,[27] and post-structuralist theories transferred it to the critic.[28] While it is, therefore, important to look into the terminology that a literary tradition has for the various modes of authorship, it is equally essential to match this terminology to the distribution of responsibilities actually assumed in the relevant texts.

6) The text itself, including its corollaries (para-texts), is an important source concerning the pertinent conceptualisation of authorship. When the various levels of subjectivity in text-production have been duly differentiated, the author *within* the text appears as a more or less visible *figure* to be re-constructed by the reader, with more or less explicit guidance by the text. To be more exact, one may speak, with Fotis Jannidis[29] and Barbara Schmitz, of an "author figuration", defined as the aggregate of "those specific properties

[25] Albert Ascoli, *Dante and the making of a modern author,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008: 6–7. Schmitz, "Die 'Autorität' des mittelalterlichen Autors im Spannungsfeld von Literatur und Überlieferung".

[26] Molly Nesbit, "What Was an Author?", in: *Yale French Studies,* no. 73 (1987): 229–57.

[27] Pease, "Author", 266–67.

[28] Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author,* 178.

[29] Jannidis, "Der nützliche Autor. Möglichkeiten eines Begriffs zwischen Text und historischem Kontext", 359.

that can be ascertained as 'author functions' within the text".[30] ("Author functions" here refers to "textual phenomena, which may be ascribed to an 'author' as the 'origin of speech' to be found in the text."[31])

This term is open to various models of composite, distributed authorship, which are of special importance in respect to veridictional texts. Embedded communications in veridictional texts affect the author figuration, since the writer who includes an enunciation from a third party does not pose as the originator of this utterance and its content. Both the volume of adopted text and the attitude displayed towards it change the author figuration, as is already apparent from Bonaventura's taxonomy quoted hereinabove. There may also be different norms at play with respect to the level of communication. For example, Harbsmeier has demonstrated that authorial self-reference was mostly reserved for embedded communications in classical Chinese philosophical literature.[32] In other words, recourse to the "authorial I" was not taken by *writers* or compilers with respect to their own works, but such references were rather *quoted* in the recorded sayings of the sages.

In fictional narrative, the narrator, and all other intra-narrative originators of speech and communication, figure as products of authorial invention, and are thus not normally part of the author figuration. However, in specific cultural situations an author may use the ploy of delegating responsibility to a narrator designated as incapable of responsibility in order to be able to say things that might otherwise earn him/her social or legal sanctions.

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[30] "Unter 'Autorfiguration' sind jene spezifischen Merkmale zu subsumieren, die als 'Autorfunktionen' in einem Text erkennbar sind." Schmitz, *Prophetie und Königtum*: 95. In her actual textual analysis, Schmitz uses the term to denote what we have termed the "author constellation", thus missing out on the aspect of authorial "self-performance" that a reference to an "author figure" may entail.

[31] "Unter 'Autorfunktion' werden jene Textphänomene subsumiert, die als kognitive Operationen dem 'Autor' als der im Text auffindbaren 'Redeorigo' zugeschrieben werden können." Ibid.

[32] Harbsmeier, "Authorial Presence in Some Pre-Buddhist Chinese Texts", 241.

7) As is obvious in the example mentioned above, the author figuration has an important strategic aspect. Wolf's observation, derived from Bourdieu's theory of the literary field, that "the author ... uses his texts as medium in his ... struggle for legitimacy in the relatively autonomous literary field" may certainly be extended to other fields, such as philosophy or religion.[33] It is, therefore, instructive to analyse the relationship between "origination function"/"author constellation" and "responsibility function"/"author figuration". Strong congruency would suggest a mode of "authentic authorship" (which may in itself have a strategic value, i.e. in underpinning the honesty and veracity of a text), while strong incongruence may be interpreted as a symptom of political or cultural pressure on the author to emphasise or de-emphasise his or her role in the production of the text.[34]

8) The third dimension of the overarching "author function" consists in the "interpretation function". This function may on first sight seem the least intrinsic one, since it is a function entirely related to the reader. It should, however, be remembered that the

[33] "Der durch seinen jeweiligen Habitus als Disposition ... in seiner Bewegungsfreiheit eingeschränkte, aber nicht absolut determinierte Autor bedient sich seiner Texte als Medium des (nicht notwendig bewußt geführten) Kampfes um Legitimität im relativ autonomen literarischen Feld." Norbert Christian Wolf, "Wie viele Leben hat ein Autor? Zur Wiederkehr des empirischen Autors- und des Werkbegriffs in der neueren Literaturtheorie" in: *Autorschaft: Positionen und Revisionen*, ed. by Heinrich Detering Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002: 398–99.

[34] In the pertinent literature, it is often stated that current academic culture over-emphasises authorship. See e.g. Edward J. Huth, "Irresponsible Authorship and Wasteful Publication" in *The ethical dimension of the biological and health sciences*, pub. by Ruth Ellen et al., Bulger, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002: 105–108; Raj Bhopal et al., "The vexed question of authorship: views of researchers in a British medical faculty" BMJ 314, no. 7086 (April 5, 1997): 1009. In contrast, in certain genres of Indian poetry, it is customary to attribute authorship to a sage who was not involved in the production of the poem. John Stratton Hawley, "Author and Authority in the Bhakti Poetry of North India", in: *The Journal of Asian Studies* 47, no. 2 (Mai 1988): 269–90. Similar strategies were also used in Europe in what Chartier called the "courtly tradition of anonymity" of the author. *The Order of Books,* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994, 39.

readers are the ones who transform writers into authors, as Nehamas rightly observed: "writers produce texts; some texts are interpreted and are thus construed as works; works generate the figure of the author manifested in them."[35]

9) Different theories attribute varying degrees of importance to the author as an instance in interpretation, varying from a theoretical zero in dogmatic post-structuralism to one (all-importance) in the various kinds of biographism. As Winko has shown, actual interpretations, even those informed by post-structuralism, can hardly be performed without any reference to authorship. Frequently used functions of such a reference are:
a) Spatio-temporal fixation: This function is important in order to substantiate references to the social or cognitive context (see functions d), e)).[36]
b) Creation of differences: Groups of similar literary phenomena can be differentiated by relation to their authors (e.g. Goethe's Faust from the figure of Faust in other literary productions).[37] This principle may be extended to groups of authors belonging to a distinct tradition, viz. the classification of Buddhist texts according to schools such as Pure Land or Chan.
c) Establishment of the unity of a work: As Winko observes, this is mostly not an observed but rather a vindicated unity;[38] it is best understood as a (disputable, but not irrational) hermeneutical principle.
d) Establishment of reference texts: Texts by the same author (or authorial group), or texts that he, she or they read and responded to.[39]

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[35] Nehamas, "What an Author Is", 688. However, we do not follow Nehamas in his absolute distinction between writer and author. The author is not, as Nehamas argues, entirely a function of the text.

[36] Winko und Detering, "Autor-Funktionen. Zur argumentativen Verwendung von Autorkonzepten in der gegenwärtigen literaturwissenschaftlichen Interpretationspraxis", 344.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., 345.

e) Establishment of contexts: Knowledge about the author enables interpreters to refer to knowledge that he or she had, or to ideas he or she related to.[40] This evidently impacts the overall *meaning* of a text, as is elegantly demonstrated in Borges's oft-cited *Pierre Menard: Author of the Quixote.*[41]
f) Creation and/or legitimation of interpretative hypotheses: The strongest – and most contested – form is interpretation based on the supposed intention of the author.[42]

Authorial Presence: Authorship in Operation

10) In order to make the author function operationally for textual analysis, it is important to reflect systematically on where to find the author – or authorial group – in the text. This is not to deny the role that other documents may play, especially in assessing the process of text origination. However, questions of authorial responsibility and its conceptualisations can only be answered with reference to the author figuration, and that is, to signs of authorial presence within the text and its corollaries. And other symptoms of authorial subjectivity, such as the cognitive or linguistic horizon of a text, are indispensable in gauging the value of independent information concerning the author constellation.[43]
11) Unfortunately, the theory of authorship has not been very productive as regards operational models of authorial presence. In the following, we have drawn on contributions to fields as diverse as

[40] Ibid.

[41] Jorge Luis Borges, *Ficciones.* Grove Press, 1962: 45–56.

[42] Winko und Detering, "Autor-Funktionen. Zur argumentativen Verwendung von Autorkonzepten in der gegenwärtigen literaturwissenschaftlichen Interpretationspraxis", 346–47.

[43] Ivan Almeida, "Jorge Luis Borges, autor del poema 'Instantes'", *Borges Studies Online*, <www.borges.pitt.edu/bsol/iainst.php> (Juni 17, 2001).

text linguistics[44], history of science[45], theology[46] and sinology[47] for the identification and critical discussion of various indicators.

In systematising the signs of authorial presence, we can distinguish between explicit *markers* and oblique *marks* of authorial activity. Among the first are all forms of explicit reference or self-reference, be it by name or first-person pronouns, in relation to authorial activity. Similarly, mention of the time and place of writing, or thinking, or saying, or otherwise creating what is being said, can be counted among such markers, which may also involve information about the character of authorial activity.

Oblique marks of authorial subjectivity range from the use of deictic phrases to the linguistic and cognitive horizons mentioned above. They can further be differentiated into oblique forms of self-reference, and "objective" signs of authorial subjectivity. While the first involve an active self-positioning, which may be seen as part of the author figuration, the latter can be used to "trace" the author constellation.

12) Instances of explicit self-reference, especially the use of the first person pronoun, seem to be the strongest and most straightforward indicators of authorial self-presentation. Still, they need to be scrutinised with respect to their actual significance. Poudat and Loiseau have demonstrated in an analysis of authorial presence in contemporary French linguistic and philosophical texts that the first person plural pronoun *nous* may be used both to include the readership

[44] Suda Yoshiharu 須田義治, "Gengogakutekina naratorojī no tame ni – Shiten no mondai wo chūshin toshite 言語学的なナラトロジーのために・視点の問題を中心として" , in: *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kanshō* 国文学 ：解釈と鑑賞 72, no. 1 (2007): 28–34.

[45] Katherine Clarke, "In Search of the Author of Strabo's Geography", in: *The Journal of Roman Studies* 87 (1997): 92–110; Céline Poudat and Sylvain Loiseau, "Authorial presence in academic genres" in *Strategies in Academic Discourse*, pub. by Elena Tognini-Bonelli and Gabriella Del Lungo Camiciotti, Studies in Corpus Linguistics 19 Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2005: 51–68.

[46] Schmitz, *Prophetie und Königtum*.

[47] Harbsmeier, "Authorial Presence in Some Pre-Buddhist Chinese Texts".

or to exclude it, according to its conjunction with verb tense.[48] The seemingly individualistic first person singular pronoun *je* "in philosophical texts ... never refers to the author: it always performs a universalization function, which relies on the referential indeterminacy of the first person."[49] Thus, the use of first person pronouns should be classified according to the degree of exclusiveness and individuality it actually indicates. Harbsmeier in his analysis of ancient Chinese texts made clear that many instances of authorial self-reference are far from being individualistic, but instead refer to the author as a part of a group or token of a certain type, e.g. "the sage".[50] Variants on this scale are: first person pronouns referring to a) the author as an individual, opposing him or herself to the readership (and everybody else); b) the author as a part of a group or sample of a type, either including or excluding the readership; c) the generalised "I", including the author, the readership, and everyone else; d) the de-personalised "I", a universal statement about anyone capable of self-reference, but without any apparent involvement of the author or reference to authorial activity.

Harbsmeier further distinguishes authorial self-references according to the level of communication on which they occur. He observes, for example, that while the "explicit pronouns *wo* 我 and *wu* 吾 are common in the *Laozi* ... (t)here is no first-person pronoun that refers to the author of the text as engaged in the composition or production of that very text."[51] In his analysis of pre-Buddhist Chinese texts, he finds examples of a) "the speaker who is quoted, the context-bound 'I' presented in explicit quotation, where a speaker is addressing a concrete audience that is within earshot;"[52] b) the "'*auctor*', the 'I' presented in implicit quotation, where a book is built up from sayings implicitly attributed to a speaker, the attribution being indicated through the title of a work;"[53] c) the "author, the 'I' presenting himself as the creator of a passage which is ad-

[48] Poudat und Loiseau, "Authorial presence in academic genres", 56–57.
[49] Ibid., 58.
[50] Harbsmeier, "Authorial Presence in Some Pre-Buddhist Chinese Texts", 225.
[51] Ibid., 232.
[52] Ibid., 241.
[53] Ibid., 242.

dressed to a certain public;"[54] d) the "writer, the 'I' presenting himself as the person who composed a certain written document, where editorial remarks indicate the writer's scribal intentions and show his responsibility for the scribal act"[55]; and e) the "writer-editor, the 'I' presenting himself as the person who composed certain written documents and who declares himself responsible for the overall arrangement of these documents in an integrated 'book'."[56]

13) As is evident from the above, phrases that attest to a distinct authorial activity, such as "saying", "writing", "quoting", "commenting", "explaining", "editing" etc., are important indicators of the mode of authorial presence. As authorial testimonies, they inform about the level of responsibility that is assumed (or delegated) by the writer concerning a text or a certain part of it. Obviously, they can be strategic to a large extent. In the traditionalist culture of medieval Japanese Buddhism, for example, it was common for writers to adduce scriptural authorities as sources of ideas that were, in fact, their own inventions.[57]

14) Localisations in space and time often serve quite simply as indicators which help to contextualise a given work. Another form of "localisation" is mentioned by Clarke in her exploration of Strabo's *Geography*: Namely, the reference to personal relationships, which identifies a position within a social network.[58] In conjunction with authorial testimonies, all such expressions of localisation can assume a strategic aspect that is part of the author figuration: the au-

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.: 243.

[57] An important example is Shinran's creative reading of Amida's 18th vow as reported in the *Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha-sūtra*, see Shinran: *Shinran* 親鸞, Nihon shisō taikei 11, Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1971: 205, 305; Daisetz Teitarō Suzuki et al., ed., *The Kyogyoshinsho : the collection of passages expounding the true teaching, living, faith, and realizing the Pure Land,* Kyoto: Shinshū ōtaniha, 1973: 89; Christian Steineck, *Quellentexte des japanischen Amida-Buddhismus,* Studies in Oriental religions 39 Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997: 112–13.

[58] Clarke, "In Search of the Author of Strabo's Geography", 99.

thorial instance associates or dissociates herself with a locus of authority, cultural prestige etc.; his or her ideas are positioned in a time, for which they seem appropriate; merits of a work may be highlighted or failures excused, etc.[59] Cross-referencing of this aspect of author figuration with the author constellation may be instructive in these instances.

15) Oblique self-references can serve as unobtrusive markers of authorial presence and fulfil important functions in the author figuration. This is again emphasised by Clarke regarding the function of such references in clarifying aspects of historical authorship (the 'author constellation' in our terms).[60] Clarke focusses on deictic temporal markers such as καθ' ἡμᾶς ("in my time"), which are the most frequent in the text she analyses, and summarises their function as follows: "Rather than necessarily denoting time in a way which would help the biographers, this phrase evokes a particular intellectual and cultural setting. So, by describing a historian or a philosopher as καθ' ἡμᾶς, Strabo is not indicating a set of dates, but inserting the writer into his own intellectual background, and assigning him an influential role in the formation of his own outlook and ideas."[61]

More forms of oblique self-references can be derived from Suda's systematic examination of linguistic strategies employed in modern Japanese literature to present a certain subjective perspective. He mentions a) deictic expressions: these include deictic temporal and spatial adverbs, but also the use of verbal aspects denoting spatio-temporal or social positioning (e.g. *V+te-kureru* "doing the speaker a favor by doing"); to which we may add all other linguistic devices that indicate the social position of a speaker/writer; b) intentional positioning: evaluations such as *tōzen* 当然 ("naturally"), *yahari* やは

[59] Shinran's closing words in the *Kyōgyōshinshō* or Horkheimer and Adorno's preface to the *Dialectic of Enlightenment* are instructive examples. Steineck, *Quellentexte des japanischen Amida-Buddhismus*: 160–63; Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung : Philosophische Fragmente*, Neuausgabe, Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1995: 1–7.

[60] Clarke, "In Search of the Author of Strabo's Geography", 102.

[61] Ibid., 108.

ゾ (“really”) that indicate a position towards an event or issue; to these might be added all forms of emotional exclamations and the like; c) testimony: the use of verbal phrases indicating perception or the act of witnessing an event; d) elaboration of intentional content, such as thoughts or emotions.[62]

Harbsmeier mentions a frequent change of perspective as another technique, employed by Zhuangzi, to display the “authorial persona” without explicit self-reference.[63] We can further add commentary and explanations, which present the enunciator as a source of knowledge and insight, and the use of any forms of addressing the reader, be it through the second person pronoun or through exhortations and the like, as they necessarily reflect back on the authorial figure.

16) Finally, some objective characteristics of a text or document are marks of authorial subjectivity. Among those accessible to textual analysis, linguistic competence and cognitive horizon are the most important. In the case of anonymous or unknown authors, knowledge of certain historical facts displayed in the text serves to identify a *terminus a quo* in order to localise the text in space and time.[64] Linguistic competence may serve as a criterion to refute spurious authorship, as in the case of the popular poem “Moments”, often attributed to Jorge Luis Borges.[65]

17) To summarise, far from being a given unit, the author should thus be understood as a title for a complex set of problems and questions to be investigated. Authorial functions can be distributed among several people, and intratextual indicators of authorial responsibility may be at variance with extratextual evidence. The fol-

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[62] Suda, “Gengogakutekina naratorojī no tame ni – Shiten no mondai wo chūshin toshite”, 29–32.

[63] Harbsmeier, “Authorial Presence in Some Pre-Buddhist Chinese Texts”, 237–38.

[64] Schmitz, *Prophetie und Königtum,* 225.

[65] Or, equally spuriously, to an otherwise unknown and probably inexistent Nadine Stair from Kentucky. Almeida, “Jorge Luis Borges, autor del poema 'Instantes'”.

lowing tables attempt to present an overview of some essential questions, and criteria to be checked in order to answer them and to construct a complex taxonomy of authorship. Only some of the author constellations and figurations listed above are presented, and the attribution of functions is tentative, and typical at best. Further differentiation is possible, and necessary in the analysis of individual texts.

Table 1: Origination and responsibility in text production

empirical communication (document): author constellation					ideal communication (text): author figuration				
originating activity	authorial mode				authorial powers / responsi-bilities	authorial figure			
	scribe	compiler	author	spiritus rector		scribe, copyist	commen-tator	reporter	auctor
material production (writing)	o	?	o	x	existence, correct-ness and complete-ness of the document,	o	o	o	?

					techn olo-gic al compe -tence				
organi sa-tio n (select ion of eleme nts / editin g / compi ling)	x	o	o	x	evalua -tion, selecti on, and organi sa-tio n of text eleme nts, know-ledge of releva nt docu-ments, texts, traditi ons	x	o	o	o
compo si-tion (enun cia-tio n/draf ting)	x	x	o	? (dicta)	wordi ng and style, selecti on and organi sa-tio n of conte nt, emoti ve and axiolo	x	x/o	o	o

					gical compe -tence				
invent ion, insigh t, know- ledge	x	x	?	o	invent ion, insigh t	x	x	x	o

Table 2: The author as an instance in interpretation		
external		**internal**
contextual	intertextual	intratextual
spatio-temporal fixation		
social context: audience, expectations, restrictions	identification of genre, classification within a tradition	
cognitive horizon	identification of possible reference texts	
	creation of corpora	
	coherence, unity of intention within the authorial text corpus	coherence, unity of intention within the text
		axiology, emotional content

Table 3: Authorial presence		
authorial function	intratextual marker (explicit)	intratextual mark (oblique)
classification	name of author	terms characteristic for an author, or authorial group, or tradition

interpretation (attribution of context)	mentioning of place and time of textual production, mentioning of personal relations (e.g. friend, mother, teacher)	linguistic competence, cognitive horizon oblique self references: deictic phrases (here, in this country, presently, recently, in the near future); verbal aspect indicating social positioning; addressing the readership;
origination	testimonies ("[author reference] said/wrote/copied/ compiled/edited")	linguistic competence, cognitive horizon
responsibility: authorial mode		oblique self-reference: indications of perceptive/cognitive activity in relation to text/content; explanations, commentary;
origination	authorial self-reference in relation to content ("I say, [author name] says") (NB: occurs on various levels of communication)	
responsibility: source of innovation, insight, composition		
responsibility: source of meaning	authorial self reference + intentional phrases ("I think, feel, want")	oblique self-reference: commentary
responsibility: source of axiology	authorial self-reference + evaluative phrases	oblique self-reference: evaluative and emotive perspectivation: "naturally", "really"; "sadly" etc.; exhortations;
responsibility: source of knowledge	explicit corrections of quoted material	oblique self-reference: explanations, adduction of quotes

The Author: Absent in Asia?

Did Asian literary traditions, prior to their integration into the cultural discourse of European classical modernity, lack a concept of

authorship? One might be tempted to answer in the affirmative when taking into account, for example, that Chinese apparently did not have a word that expresses the concept of an individual who gives origin to a text, produces it and declares him- or herself responsible for it until at least the first century C.E.[66] However, it is obvious that our answer to the question in the last resort depends on how we define the term *author*. If we conceive of an author as a specific individual who originates, composes and writes a text and assumes responsibility for it, we can claim with some confidence that in many Asian literatures there did not exist such a concept, let alone even one such individual before modernity. But we can also choose not to project a modern view of authorship as a 'one-man show' onto the various literary traditions and instead allow the different author functions, the most important being origination, responsibility (including authority), and meaning function, to be distributed among several individuals. We may then as well come to the conclusion that since the outset of literature there has certainly been evidence of a concept of authorship, albeit one that was limited in that it did not integrate the various author functions into a single source of meaning and in that it was genre-bound.

Although we subscribe to Christoph Harbsmeier's "Principle of Hermeneutic Austerity" not to "attribute to texts of a certain culture, time and genre semantic features and rhetorical devices that are not a plausible part of the literary communication in that culture, at that time, and in that genre",[67] we venture to say that in the literary traditions of probably all cultures and all times there have been certain genres which depend on the fulfilment of an author function. It is likely that a genre-bound concept of authorship has always been in existence and will always be because author functions are indispensable for meaning construction or assertion of authority in certain types of texts. Exactly which kinds of writing

[66] See Ulrich Unger, *Abriß der Literatur des chinesischen Altertums: Prodesse aut delectare?* Münster: Hao-Ku, 2005: 187–89; and Christian Schwermann, "Composite Authorship in Western Zhōu Bronze Inscriptions: The Case of the "Tiānwáng guǐ" 天亡簋 Inscription", in this volume.

[67] Harbsmeier, "Authorial Presence in Some Pre-Buddhist Chinese Texts", 244.

carry author functions depends on the specific cultural context and the use and status of different textual genres in that context.

Take ancient Egyptian literature as an example. For the majority of texts, the names of the authors have not been handed down to us,[68] except for two genres, namely instructions in wisdom and autobiographical inscriptions.[69] The latter contain the names of their credited authors, which, as a matter of course, are not necessarily identical with their inscribers.[70] As commissioned works, these inscriptions may have served as a display of prestige. It would have been meaningless to commission an autobiographical inscription without an explicit reference in relation to authorial activity, i.e. a reference to the name of the commissioner (origination, responsibility and meaning function), whose life and achievements are described in such an inscription. Instructions in wisdom, which consist of rules of conduct for subsequent generations, are often ascribed to sagacious officials. Although these may well be fictitious authors, they nonetheless fulfil an author function in that they were invented to lend authority to the text and to create a tradition of teaching (responsibility function).[71]

It is obvious that indicators of authorial presence, in this case names of commissioners and legendary authors, were inserted when they (1) were considered to be of vital importance for the construction of meaning through contextualization, (2) helped to confer prestige on those responsible for the texts and thus secured their claim to authority and (3) lent authority to the texts them-

[68] See Philippe Derchain, "Auteur et société", in: *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. by Antonio Loprieno, Probleme der Ägyptologie 10. Leiden: Brill, 1996: 83–94.

[69] See Hellmut Brunner, *Grundzüge einer Geschichte der altägyptischen Literatur* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966: 15. Compare the examples in Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, 3 vols., Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1973–1980.

[70] See Andrea M. Gnirs, "Die ägyptische Autobiographie", in: *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. by Antonio Loprieno: 191–241, here 196.

[71] Miriam Lichtheim, "Didactic Literature", in: *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. by Antonio Loprieno: 243–62, here 244, points out "that the Egyptian habit of attributing 'Instructions' to named authors and addressees was a pseudepigraphic device".

selves.[72] Whereas explicit markers of authorial presence like references to authors' names or authorial self-references by first-person pronouns thus serve to generate authority either for the text itself or for its author and create a definite historical and social reference frame for interpretation, implicit indicators of authorial activity like apostrophes to the reader, the arrangement of contents, rhetorical execution, fictionalization of the authorial self, the interplay of assumed authorial personae etc. are ambiguous and force "the reader to speculate on the author's underlying intention as opposed to the overt and covert linguistic meaning of the text".[73]

Explicit markers of authorial presence at this early stage of literature seem to be primarily associated with status-marked genres, i.e. prestigious types of writing with important political and religious functions and a relatively low degree of 'public' accessability in small circles of addressees. In contrast, implicit indicators of authorial activity become increasingly important in writings that are addressed towards a larger public including people outside the small segments of tribal societies and the publication of which involves considerable political and social risks for their authors.[74] Although techniques like the use of assumed authorial personae and the fictionalization of the authorial self are strategies of dissimulation, they bespeak a growing consciousness of individual authorship. Paradoxically enough, this increasing awareness is also reflected in the wide-spread dissimulative practice of weaving elaborate tapestries of intertextual references, which can be traced back to the early Confucian ideal of "handing down something without creating it, putting one's trust in and being fond of the ancients" (*shù ér bù zuò, xìn ér hào gǔ* 述而不作信而好古)[75] and was developed and refined to conceal the traces of the actual authors, possibly with a view to in-

[72] See for example Andrea M. Gnirs, "Die ägyptische Autobiographie", 199–200, who argues that autobiographical inscriptions served the purpose of commemoration and encouraged the performance of cultic acts.

[73] Harbsmeier, "Authorial Presence in Some Pre-Buddhist Texts", 237.

[74] See Steineck, "Enlightened Authorship: The Case of Dōgen Kigen", in this volume: p. 217, on the risks of addressing writings to outsiders.

[75] See *Lún yǔ* 7.1.

creasing the authority of the text by ostensibly eliminating the risk of individual error.

This may also help to explain why composite authorship appears to have been more prevalent in Asian literary traditions before modernity than individual authorship. In his contribution on "Composite Authorship in Western Zhōu Bronze Inscriptions", Christian Schwermann produces ample evidence that before the first century CE, the Chinese did not have an expression for the concept of "author". Once a concept of individual authorship was in place, individual scholars not only started to declare themselves to be responsible for their works but they also tended to attribute older anonymous works, most of them probably of composite authorship, to constructed author figures, which served as sources of contextual meaning and authority. This also happened to ancient bronze inscriptions, which in fact seem to have been commissioned jointly by the king and its owners and authored collectively but which were ascribed to individual "inscribers" by early imperial scholars.

This individualising approach to earlier works of composite authorship is also at work in the Mao interpretation of the *Songs* (*Shī*), which dates from the middle of the second century BC or later and is analysed by Alexander Beecroft in his "Authorship in the *Canon of Songs* (*Shi Jing*)". Beecroft shows that the Mao prefaces to individual poems strive to put these into concrete political and historical contexts and to create individualised "scenes of authorship" along the lines of a Confucian narrative of historical decline, which is tied to an inherited chronological arrangement of the *Songs*. Moreover, there are scattered statements of authorship in the *Canon* itself, which might lend themselves to the suggestion of an emergence of authorial and historical self-consciousness as early as during the late Western Zhōu. As Beecroft argues, however, this assumption is difficult to sustain. With four out of nine statements of authorship in Minor and Major Court Songs being anonymous and giving no details of composition and three further statements giving only forms of address or official titles for their authors and being, therefore, anonymous, too, we simply do not have enough evidence to prove that self-referential authorship already emerged during the eight and ninth centuries BC. As regards the remaining two poems 259 and 260, the named author figure Jí Fǔ 吉甫 may also have been the

commissioner of the poem, which would then, just like Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions, be a work of composite authorship. Finally, we must allow for the possibility of the text of the classic having been contaminated with later attributions of authorship.

As Simone Müller's contribution on the "Awareness of Authorship and Author Figurations in Japanese Imperial Anthologies" demonstrates, classical Japanese poetry is comparable to the Chinese literary tradition in so far as it has a relatively high proportion of anonymous texts at the beginning, which then gradually decreases with the advent of an awareness of authorship as documented in later imperial anthologies of poetry. What is important to recognise here is that these anthologies, as well as the underlying notions of literary creation, are complex cases of composite authorship. The compilers of imperial anthologies established themselves as co- or secondary authors by including poems of their own, by composing prefaces both to the selection and to individual poems to influence their reception and finally, and most importantly, by arranging the poems according to structural principles such as progression, association and contrast, thus creating narratives of seasonal growth and decline to express, for example, the transitoriness of love.

The parallels between the strategies of these medieval Japanese writer-compiler-editors[76] and of early imperial Chinese scholars, who were responsible for the Mao recension of the *Songs* or created "scenes of authorship" for Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions, are so striking that one is tempted to assume the existence of a common cross-cultural strategy of appropriating pre-existent anonymous texts to establish a secondary composite or even individual authorship, which behaves parasitically upon the unknown or assumed primary authors. As Marion Eggert shows in her contribution on "Authorship and Translation in an Early Sinic Song", this tendency is also documented in early Korean literature. Using the instructive example of the famous "Lament of the *kōnghóu* lute", an anonymous ancient poem transmitted through Chinese sources since the second

[76]Compare the types of the "writer-editor" and "compiler-editor" among the six varieties of the authorial "I" set up by Harbsmeier, "Authorial Presence in Some Pre-Buddhist Texts", 241–43.

century CE, "whose 'Korean' credentials are more questionable", she gives a detailed account of how a received Sinic song was culturally appropriated by Korean intellectuals and scholars from the second half of the fifteenth to the late twentieth century. Not only did they claim Korean authorship for the poem on the grounds of speculations concerning the nationality of its author figures as given by Chinese tradition, but they also asserted literary ownership – not through transmission, which was undeniably an achievement of the Chinese, but through production, which was assumed to be an accomplishment of either a Chosŏn soldier or his wife. In accordance with the above-mentioned Confucian precept of "handing down something without creating it, putting one's trust in and being fond of the ancients." the act of authoring itself was conceived of as a process of transcoding an oral performance and thus of translating and transmitting.

Another instructive example of how and to what ends secondary authors were established is the case of the Chinese literary critic Jīn Shèngtàn (1608–1661), who gained dubious notoriety for his, to put it mildly, idiosyncratic commentated editions of the novel *Shuǐhǔ zhuàn*, *The Water Margin Saga*, and the *singspiel Xīxīang jì*, *The Western Chamber Story*. In his contribution on "Jin Shengtan's Construction of Textual Authority and Authorship in his Commented Edition of *Shuihu zhuan* (*The Water Margin Saga*)", Roland Altenburger describes in detail how the commentator usurped the position of the assumed primary authors of this vernacular novel. In a forged preface, he substituted them with the figure of an individual author, whose character and intentions were modelled on his own. Moreover, he pretended to have access to an "old copy" (*gǔ běn*) to justify his radical revision of the text. Altenburger shows convincingly that Jīn Shèngtàn, whose aspirations for an official career were frustrated early in his life, invented individual authorship as a strategy of appropriating the *Shuǐhǔ zhuàn* to win scholarly fame and, perhaps even more importantly, to achieve commercial success. That he tried to produce a commercial edition of the text, geared towards a larger, less-educated reading public, indicates that his decision to ascribe the novel to an individual author may have been linked to the expansion of the commercial book trade in the seventeenth century – an economic precondition to the establishment of the mod-

ern author. This may also be the reason why Jīn Shèngtàn did not go as far as putting his own name under the text of his edition. The signature of one of the assumed primary authors simply sold better. To gratify his ego, he contented himself with moulding his self-image into that of the author figure.

If we conceive of authorship as a broad scale of possibilities ranging from 'weak', i.e. implicit composite authorship on the one end of the spectrum to 'strong', i.e. explicit individual authorship on the other, the case of the Japanese monk Dōgen Kigen (1200–1253), which is analysed by Raji C. Steineck in his study of "Enlightened Authorship: The Case of Dōgen Kigen" *prima facie* seems to be located at the 'strong' end. In the *zazen* treatise *Bendōwa*, Dōgen stages himself as an enlightened author by drawing an analogy between his own return to Japan from Sòng-China and Bodhidharma's legendary arrival in China and putting himself on a par not only with previous patriarchs but also the Buddha himself. As Steineck demonstrates, however, the case of Dōgen as an author is far more complicated than that. The discrepancies between author constellation and author figuration in most of the other works attributed to him indicate that his representation as their single author and the underlying integration of various author functions into a single source of meaning is highly questionable. Steineck's detailed analysis of author constellations, author figuration and indicators of authorial presence in the Dōgen canon clearly establishes that most of the writings attributed to him are in fact works of composite authorship, i.e. "the result of a distribution of labour, with various constellations involved." According to Steineck, the reason why all these texts nonetheless were attributed to Dōgen was that intellectual responsibility was given priority over the responsibility for the collection of contents and composition in medieval Japanese Zen-Buddhism.

Given the immense breadth of our field, this survey can only provide a rather impressionistic sketch of various forms, models and concepts of authorship in ancient and medieval Asian literatures. However, it should become obvious that Asian literary traditions cover the whole spectrum from works of 'weak' implicit composite to 'strong' explicit individual authorship. The divisions on this scale can be equated with gradual differences in the range of

self-articulation. Whereas specific social, cultural, economic and technological factors led to the development and enforcement of an exceptionally strong concept of authorship in classical European modernity, traditional Asian cultures show a preference for less ego-centred notions of authorship and a marked tendency to distribute author functions among several individuals. This is, for example, evidenced by a predominance of composite authorship or the suppression of individual authorship to enhance the authority and importance of the text by ostensibly eliminating the risk of individual error. However, we also find evidence of 'strong' individual authorship even before the emergence or expansion of commercial book trade. Not only were inherited texts appropriated to establish a secondary individual authorship, individual authors like Dōgen even staged themselves as enlightened authors.

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COMPOSITE AUTHORSHIP

IN WESTERN ZHŌU BRONZE INSCRIPTIONS

THE CASE OF THE "TIĀNWÁNG GUǏ" 天亡簋 INSCRIPTION

Christian Schwermann[1]

1. Individual versus composite authorship

There are two accounts of authorship in early China, a 'traditional' and a 'modern' one. The traditional view implies that from the very beginning Chinese writers have had both a strong awareness that texts can be created by a single person and a clear commitment to the concept of individual authorship. Thus, even some of the allegedly earliest transmitted texts have been ascribed to specific authors. For example, the Five Confucian Classics were, and sometimes still are, said to have been compiled or even authored by Confucius. Originally, this was the view of early imperial scholars who were active during the last two centuries BCE. They edited these texts, commented on them and wrote about their origin centuries after the event.[2]

Excavated manuscripts and new studies of the composition and layering of transmitted texts tell us a different story. According to the modern view, which has been developed in recent decades under the impression of archaeological excavations, the bulk of the received literature consists of small anonymous textual "building blocks".[3] Collections of these textual units often grew by accretion or were accumulated over a period of several centuries.[4] Finally,

[1] My gratitude goes to Wolfgang Behr, Christoph Harbsmeier, Ed Shaughnessy, Barend ter Haar and the anonymous reviewers of this volume for their valuable comments and suggestions.

[2] Compare Martin Kern, "Die Anfänge der chinesischen Literatur", in: Reinhard Emmerich, ed., *Chinesische Literaturgeschichte*, Stuttgart: Metzler, 2004: 1–87, here 15. For Confucius' alleged authorship or editorship of the Five Classics see Michael Nylan, *The Five "Confucian" Classics*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001: 6, 32, and 66.

[3] The term was coined by William G. Boltz in his "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts", in: Martin Kern (ed.), *Text and Ritual in Early China*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2005: 50–78.

[4] For the theory of accretion and/or accumulation see E. Bruce Brooks and A.

they were edited and assigned fictitious or legendary authors from circa 300 BCE onwards. To give an example, the *Guǎn zǐ* 管子 with approximately 130,000 characters is the largest of the early received philosophical texts and contains a variety of materials concerning questions of government and rulership, economic thought, agriculture, military theory and Daoist meditation techniques, just to name the most important. It is rather obvious that it was accumulated over a long period, probably from the fourth to the first century BCE, and is, therefore, a composite work. In the course of its compilation, however, it was attributed to Guǎn Zhòng 管仲, a legendary statesman of the seventh century BCE.[5] In a similar way, received verse such as the "Lí sāo" 離騷 ("On Encountering Trouble") seems to have been attributed to specific, named authors such as Qū Yuán 屈原, whose biographies formed a context for a political interpretation of the texts.[6]

This revisionist editorial process, which most likely aimed at investing the texts with moral and political authority, culminated in the early imperial era. What is most interesting is that the earliest conceptualisations of literary authorship as well as the first elaborate claims to exclusive authorship and the first expressions for the concept of an individual who gives origin to a text, produces it and declares him or herself responsible for it dated from the very same period. The first avowal of authorship that is both authentic and elaborate was formulated by Sīmǎ Qiān 司馬遷, the co-author of a comprehensive world history. In 108 BCE he inherited the office of Director of the Grand Scribes (*tài shǐ lìng* 太史令) from his father Sīmǎ Tán 司馬談 who had begun to compose an account of the past and had charged his son to complete his history before he died in 110 BCE.[7]

Taeko Brooks, "Classical Chinese Texts: Text Typology." <http://www.umass.edu/wsp/cct/typology/index.html> (26.09.2011).

[5] For the date and origin of this text as well as for the attribution of authorship to Guǎn Zhòng see W. Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China*, vol. 1, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985: 8–24.

[6] See Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999: 185–90.

[7] For Sīmǎ Tán's part in the undertaking see Dorothee Schaab-Hanke's exemplary study of chapter 27 of the *Shǐ jì* 史記 "Tiānguān shū" 天官書 "Sima Tans Anteil an Kapitel 27 des *Shiji*", in: Dorothee Schaab-Hanke, *Der Geschichtsschreiber als Exeget:*

This work, which has been transmitted in 130 chapters under the title "The Records of the Scribes" (*Shǐ jì* 史記, begins with the legendary first emperors and ends in Sīmǎ Qiān's own time. The authors often voice their comments on events and historical personalities, introducing their statements with the formula "the Lord Grand Scribe says" (*tài shǐ gōng yuē* 太史公曰). Both in the postface to his history and in a famous letter to his friend Rèn Ān 任安, Sīmǎ Qiān assumes authorial responsibility for his and his father's work and puts himself in line with a long tradition of fictitious or legendary authors such as Confucius to indicate that he wants to compensate "failure in life" by bequeathing a literary legacy to posterity.[8] Moreover, writing from the point of view of an early individual author, he attributes the composition of received texts, which in fact are composite writings, to fictitious individual authors such as Lǎo

Facetten der frühen chinesischen Historiographie, Deutsche Ostasienstudien 10, Gossenberg: Ostasien Verlag, 2010: 211–22.

[8] For example, see *Shǐ jì* 史記, 10 vols., Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1959: vol. 10, *juàn* 130, 3300; compare *Hàn shū* 漢書, 12 vols., Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1959: vol. 9, *juàn* 62, 2735. The question of authorship is discussed by Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*: 190–91; compare Martin Kern, "Die Anfänge der chinesischen Literatur", 72–76; see also Dorothee Schaab-Hanke, "Subjectivity as a Form of Authority: The 'I' Voice in the *Taishigong yue* Sections of the *Shiji*", in: Dorothee Schaab-Hanke, *Der Geschichtsschreiber als Exeget: Facetten der frühen chinesischen Historiographie*, 405–428. In 99 BCE, Sīmǎ Qiān had been subjected to a severe and humiliating corporal punishment because he had defended a disgraced general and thus infuriated the emperor. When threatened with castration, he did not commit suicide as would have been expected of someone in his position but submitted to the punishment on the grounds that he wanted to complete his and his father's history. For the authenticity of his letter to Rèn Ān see Dorothee Schaab-Hanke, "Anfechtungen eines Ehrenmannes: Argumente für die Authentizität des Briefes an Ren An", in: Michael Friedrich, Reinhard Emmerich and Hans van Ess, eds., *Han-Zeit: Festschrift für Hans Stumpfeldt aus Anlaß seines 65. Geburtstages*, Lun Wen: Studien zur Geistesgeschichte und Literatur in China 8, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006: 283–98, reprinted in: Dorothee Schaab-Hanke, ed., *Der Geschichtsschreiber als Exeget: Facetten der frühen chinesischen Historiographie*, 369–86. See also the attempt of Esther Sunkyung Klein to deconstruct the author figure of Sīmǎ Qiān: *The History of a Historian: Perspectives on the Authorial Roles of Sima Qian*, Ph.D. Dissertation Princeton University, 2010, especially 446–481 on the underlying notion of authenticity in the case of Sīmǎ Qiān's letter to Rèn Ān.

zǐ 老子, Zhuāng zǐ 莊子, Shēn zǐ 申子 or Hán zǐ 韓子 (i.e. Hán Fēi 韓非), marking their alleged individual authorship by using verbs or verbal phrases such as zuò 作, "to make, to compose", wéi 爲, "to make, to compose", zhù shū 著書 "to compose books", and zhǔ shū 屬書 "to compose books".[9]

In addition to that, there is ample lexical evidence that Old Chinese only had an exact equivalent for the noun *author* starting from the first century CE. A text of the third century BCE refers to a poet as "him who made this ode" (*wéi cǐ shī zhě* 爲此詩者).[10] Those who put something down in writing were called *shǐ* 史, "scribes".[11] In a

[9] For example, see *Shǐ jì*, vol. 7, *juàn* 63, 2141, 2143, 2144, 2146, 2147, 2155, 2156, and vol. 8, *juàn* 84, 2482, 2486, 2491, 2492, 2496.

[10] See Ulrich Unger, *Abriß der Literatur des chinesischen Altertums: Prodesse aut delectare?*, Münster: Hao-Ku, 2005: 187–89 for this and the following terms.

[11] Although this meaning, which is also given in the *Shuō wén jiě zì* 說文解字, a character dictionary dating to the early second century CE, is attested only since the late Western Zhōu period, it seems to be genuinely archaic. Kai Vogelsang (*Geschichte als Problem: Entstehung, Formen und Funktionen von Geschichtsschreibung im Alten China*, Lun Wen: Studien zur Geistesgeschichte und Literatur in China 9, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2007: 88–91) is probably mistaken when he gives "commissary" as the basic meaning of *shǐ*, OC *s-rəʔ, and relates it to *shǐ* 使, "to employ, send, commission". As Wolfgang Behr ("Language Change in Premodern China: Notes on Its Perception and Impact on the Idea of a 'Constant Way'", in: Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, Achim Mittag, Jörn Rüsen, eds., *Historical Truth, Historical Criticism, and Ideology: Chinese Historiography and Historical Culture from a New Comparative Perspective*, Leiden Series in Comparative Historiography 1, Leiden: Brill, 2005: 13–51, here 15) emphasises, 史 was merely used as a loan character for the homophonous term *shǐ*, OC *s-rəʔ, "to employ, send, commission", which later came to be written as 使. He goes on to explain that "史 *shǐ* < MC *sriX* < OC *s-rəʔ is an *s-prefixed deverbal derivation from an underlying root 理 *lǐ* < *liX* < *rəʔ 'to divide, regulate, mark (of field divisions)', which in turn was most likely a cognate of Classical Tibetan *bri-ba* 'draw, design', *bris* 'picture'. A 'scribe' was, therefore, originally simply 'a marker', or, taking into account some of the daughter language reflexes of the Sino-Tibetan etymon slightly further afield: 'a scratcher'." (Behr, "Language Change in Premodern China", 16) Compare Martin Kern, "The Performance of Writing in Western Zhou China", in: Sergio La Porta and David Shulman (eds.), *The Poetics of Grammar and the Metaphysics of Sound and Sign,* Jerusalem Series in Religion and Culture 6, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007: 109–175, here 115-121.

narrower sense, this term referred to servants at court who drafted documents, read out appointments and kept historical records. As government officials, however, scribes also had religious and ritual tasks such as offering prayers, managing divination, regulating the calendar, explaining calamities and regulating clan genealogies.[12] It is obvious that the term does not imply authorial presence but rather connotes "scribal reticence".[13] Later on, those who excelled in reading, writing, oratory and scholarship were also called *wén shì* 文士, "cultured/learned retainers", i.e. "men of letters". The term, which is also used pejoratively in polemical diatribes against rhetoricians,[14] clearly does not refer to the standard concept of "author".

In the early imperial era, terms which are closer in meaning to the word *author* make their first appearance. For example, the author of a poem is called the "man of the ode" (*shī rén* 詩人). In this case, it is important to notice that the expression *shī rén* is never used as a generic term. It does not refer to poets as a class of people but always to a particular person who is said to have written the poem under discussion.[15] The earliest words for the concept of "author" are analytic paraphrases such as *zhùzuòzhě* 著作者, "those who compose and create", or *zhùwénzhě* 著文者, "those who compose writings". They occur for the first time in a polemical review of earlier scholarship that bears the title *Lùn héng* 論衡 [Balancing of Discourses] and was composed by the philosopher and polymath Wáng

[12] See Steven Shankman and Stephen Durrant, *The Siren and the Sage: Knowledge and Wisdom in Ancient Greece and China*, London and New York: Cassell, 2000: 83, who based themselves on Xú Fùguān's 徐復觀 article "Yuán shǐ: yóu zōngjiào tōngxiàng rénwén de shǐxué zhī chénglì" 原史：由宗教通向人文的史學的成立 [Tracing the Word Scribe to its Origins: From a Religious toward the Establishment of Humanistic Historiography], in: Dù Wéiyùn 杜維運 and Chén Jǐnzhōng 陳錦忠 eds., *Zhōngguó shǐxuéshǐ lùnwén xuǎnjí* 中國史學論文選集 vol. 3, Táiběi: Huáshì Chūbǎnshè, 1980: 1–71, especially 7–12.

[13] For this term see Christoph Harbsmeier, "May Fourth Linguistic Orthodoxy and Rhetoric: Some Informal Comparative Notes", in: Michael Lackner, Iwo Amelung, Joachim Kurtz, eds., *New Terms for New Ideas: Western Knowledge and Lexical Change in Late Imperial China*, Sinica Leidensia 52, Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001: 373–410, here 402–04.

[14] For examples see Unger, *Abriß der Literatur des chinesischen Altertums*, 188–89.

[15] See Unger, *Abriß der Literatur des chinesischen Altertums*, 187.

Chōng 王充 during the first century CE. In chapter 39, "Chāo qí" 超奇 ("On the Extraordinary"), the author praises the ability to compose innovative scholarly writings on the basis of received texts and offers the first conceptualisation of authorship. He compares those who do not live up to his ideal of "establishing a standpoint and creating a [new] idea" (*lì yì chuàng yì* 立義創意)[16] to parrots:

> Whenever those of wide [learning] are valued, they are valued for being able to put it [i.e. their learning] to use. If they content themselves with mere recitation, reading the Odes and presenting the Classics from memory, even if these count more than a thousand chapters, they are the likes of parrots that can speak. [However, as regards] expounding the meaning of old writings and putting forth luscious words, [scholars] cannot achieve it unless they are outstanding talents. In general, it is a fact that those who have read widely are available in every generation but that *those who compose writings* [*zhùwénzhě* 著文者, italics are mine] have been scarce in past generations.[17]

This use of the term *zhùwénzhě*, "those who compose writings", is one of the closest Old Chinese expressions for the concept of an individual author we have.[18] According to the *Lùn héng*, the ideal aca-

[16] Not surprisingly and strangely only from a modern perspective, Wáng Chōng sees this standard fulfilled in Confucius' alleged production of the *Chūnqiū* on the basis of "scribes' records" (*shǐ jì* 史記; see *Lùn héng jiàoshì* 論衡校釋 ed. by Huáng Huī 黃暉, 4 vols., Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1990, vol. 2: 606.

[17] *Lùn héng jiàoshì*, vol. 2: 606: 凡貴博覽也，貴能用之也。博覽而不能用，猶不博覽也。夫博覽者，世間有；著文者，歷世希然。Although Alfred Forke's complete translation, the two volumes of which were first published in 1907 and 1911, was a major sinological achievement at that time, a close comparison with the Chinese text shows that an abridged translation of the complete text would be desirable. It is especially revealing that Forke, presumably due to the influence of a romantic concept of authorship, overemphasises the aspects of creativity and imagination in his translation of the passage quoted above: "That which is so much esteemed in learned men is their creative power. Those who do nothing but reading, reciting verses and humming over learned treatises, may peruse over a thousand chapters, they are after all but talking parrots. The imaginative faculty necessary for books and stories and a rich and smooth diction are special gifts of men of genius. Well informed people there are plenty in every age, but writers are rare even in successive generations." See Alfred Forke, *Lun-Hêng, Part II: Miscellaneous Essays of Wang Ch'ung,* New York: Paragon Book Gallery, [2]1962 (first edition 1911): 296.

[18] In another passage, Wáng Chōng uses the expression *zhù shū zhī rén* 著書之人,

demic writer relies on his broad erudition, creative power and independent thought to compose both integral and inventive scholarly works. Incidentally, even today these qualities are valid criteria of academic excellence. What is important here is that by defining an author in this way, Wáng Chōng relates the emerging concept of individual authorship to the notion of originality, which became an important topos in later literary thought.[19] Before him, individual authors indeed had been scarce to the point of being non-existent, Sīmǎ Qiān, at least in terms of his self-conception, arguably being the first and only exception. In earlier, pre-imperial texts we find nothing of this kind.[20]

"people who compose books", which seems to have eluded Unger; see *Lùn héng jiàoshì*, vol. 2: 610.

[19] For the topos of originality in Qīng literary thought see Michael Quirin, "The Way of Writing. Theoretical Perspectives from the Qing Period", in: Marc Hermann and Christian Schwermann, eds., *Zurück zur Freude. Studien zur chinesischen Literatur und Lebenswelt und ihrer Rezeption in Ost und West. Festschrift für Wolfgang Kubin*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 57, Nettetal and Sankt Augustin: Steyler Verlag, 2007: 235–49, here 243–45. A precondition for the development of the ideal of scholarly and literary originality and for criticism of uninspired reproduction of inherited speech was the call for "turning against antiquity" (*fǎn gǔ* 反古, which was first articulated in writings of the late Zhànguó period, see Luó Gēnzé 羅根澤, "Wǎn Zhōu zhūzǐ fǎngǔ kǎo" 晚周諸子反古考 in: Gù Jiégāng 顧頡剛et.al., eds., *Gǔ shǐ biàn* 古史辨 7 vols., Hong Kong: Tàipíng Shūjú, 1962–1963, vol. 6: 1–49. Reinhard Emmerich, "Wang Chongs 'Fragen an Konfuzius' ('Wen Kong'): Kritik von befreundeter Seite", in: Michael Friedrich, Reinhard Emmerich and Hans van Ess, eds., *Han-Zeit: Festschrift für Hans Stumpfeldt aus Anlaß seines 65. Geburtstages*, Lun Wen: Studien zur Geistesgeschichte und Literatur in China 8, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006: 169–99, here 175, provides ample evidence that the author of the *Lùn héng* shared the 'modernist' conviction that attainments of the present were more important than achievements of the past.

[20] Apart from a few short, scattered and rather enigmatic assertions of authorship in the received literature, which are restricted to the genre of songs of praise (see the article by Alexander Beecroft on "Authorship in the *Canon of Songs [Shi Jing]*" in this volume), there are markers of authorial judgement and indications of apostrophes to readers. In historical writings, authorial judgements are sometimes introduced by the formula "the gentleman says" (*jūnzǐ yuē* 君子曰); see Eric Henry, "'Junzi Yue' versus 'Zhongni Yue' in *Zuozhuan*", in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 59.1 (1999): 125–61. Occasionally there are apostrophes to readers, for

Therefore, the traditional view that Chinese literature from the very beginning has had a notion of individual authorship, in which the various author functions, for example origination, composition, production and responsibility functions, were integrated into a single source of meaning, and the concomitant fiction of textual integrity have been refuted in recent decades. Nowadays, most scholars, either explicitly or implicitly, assume that received texts dating to the third century BCE or earlier are accumulations of more or less short and anonymous textual components, which were exchanged freely among scholars and were put together to form larger composite works by members of so-called scholastic lines. In what is perhaps the most strident formulation of this idea, William G. Boltz has argued that "[...] lengthy, literary or essay-like texts, authored by a single writer, in the way we typically think of a text in the modern world, do not reflect the norm for early China but were, at best, the exception."[21] According to this view individuality and self-reflection as preconditions to individual authorship were only developed during the third century BCE.[22] Actually, this is corroborated by the findings of Alain Thote, who provides ample evidence that the fourth century BCE "appears to be the stage in Chinese art history when artists began to depart from craftsmen, gaining a status that allowed them to create with a certain degree of freedom" and developing an interest for representing individual human shapes.[23] As Christoph Harbsmeier has emphasised, we accordingly

example in chapter 70 of the received *Lǎo zǐ* 老子: "My words are very easy to understand, and very easy to practise. [Yet,] in the whole world there is nobody who can understand them, nobody who can practise them." See *Bó shū Lǎo zǐ jiàozhù* 帛書老子校注 ed. by Gāo Míng 高明 Xīnbiān zhūzǐ jíchéng 新編諸子集成 Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 2004: 173: 吾言甚易知，甚易行；天下莫能知，莫能行。 I have slightly modified the translation by Bernhard Karlgren, "Notes on Lao-tse." in: *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 47 (1975): 1–18, here 12. Compare Unger, *Abriß der Literatur des chinesischen Altertums:* 190–91, who emphasises that in many other cases the 'I' does not address itself to the reader but to an interlocutor and thus cannot be regarded as an authorial 'I'.

[21] See Boltz, "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts", 59.

[22] See Unger, *Abriß der Literatur des chinesischen Altertums*, 192.

[23] See Alain Thote, "Artists and Craftsmen in the Late Bronze Age of China (Eighth to Third Centuries BC): Art in Transition", in: *Proceedings of the British*

have to conceive of early Chinese "authors" as composite entities: As writing originally was an anonymous task that required special skills but lacked prestige, the author functions of composition, production and responsibility were distributed among several individuals.[24]

2. The problem of authorship in bronze inscriptions

In the following part, I would like to analyse authorial self-references and markers of authorial judgement in early Chinese bronze inscriptions and show that the author figuration of these texts is an important criterion for testing the validity of existing interpretative approaches to early Chinese epigraphy, which normally are not based upon the analysis of author functions. Rhyming bronze inscriptions are extant from the eleventh century BCE onwards and belong to the earliest works of Chinese literature which can be dated with some accuracy.[25] They were cast into bronze sacrificial vessels, which were often dedicated to deceased family members and used for ancestor worship. Many inscriptions refer to their owners' involvement in great military, political or ritual events and to the awards they received for their service. These epigraphs nor-

Academy 154 (2007): 201–241, especially 205 and 237–238 (quotation).

[24] See Christoph Harbsmeier, "Authorial Presence in Some Pre-Buddhist Chinese Texts", in: Viviane Alleton and Michael Lackner, eds., *De l'un au multiple. Traductions du Chinois vers les langues Européennes*, Paris: Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1999: 221-254, here 222.

[25] Shāng dynasty oracle bone inscriptions, which are extant from the thirteenth century BCE onwards, are even earlier but do not seem to show signs of literary composition such as rhyming and have been suspected to be mere archival leftovers; see Wolfgang Behr, *Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung*, Ph.D. Dissertation Universität Frankfurt, 1996: 31–57. Notwithstanding the pending questions of their production and function, even these inscriptions show signs of authorial activity. In fact, they may be considered as early examples of inspired authorship, since the divinators, who scratched the accounts of their divinations into the bones and often added their personal names, may have functioned as mediums between ancestral spirits and the king. I am grateful to Professor Matías Martínez, Universität Wuppertal, for his suggestion that the concept of inspired authorship may be applied to oracle-bone inscriptions.

mally only mention positive things, and it is obvious that their owners wanted to make their accomplishments known to posterity.[26] Some scholars hold that the vessels which carry the inscriptions were used without exception in ritual practice, namely for libation and food sacrifices or – in the case of bronze bells – for the ritual performance of music and, therefore, they believe that the owners of these inscriptions wanted to communicate their feats not only to their offspring but also to their ancestors.[27] This is not explicitly confirmed by the inscriptions themselves, however, and we should be aware of being at the mercy of conjecture here. Others doubt that the vessels and their inscriptions were exclusively related to ritual contexts and stress that every single inscription has to be interpreted with regard to the specific context of its production and of the situation in which its carrier was used.[28] The problem of audience cannot be solved at the present stage of research.[29] What is important here is that both event notations and dedications of bronze inscriptions often contain references to authors' names or even authorial self-references by first-person pronouns.

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[26] See Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991: 175–76.

[27] See Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Issues in Western Zhou Studies: A Review Article", in: *Early China* 18 (1993): 139–226. This point of view was later adopted by Martin Kern in his "Die Anfänge der chinesischen Literatur", 5–13.

[28] See Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008: 16–17, as well as his *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045–771 BC*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 9–10. In a more recent study of literacy in the Western Zhou, Li Feng points out that many inscribed bronze vessels were intended for everyday uses like food-serving, face- and hair-washing and that they were on display – and probably read – at many social events other than religious ceremonies; see Li Feng, "Literacy and the Social Contexts of Writing in the Western Zhou", in: Li Feng and David Prager Branner, eds., *Writing & Literacy in Early China: Studies from the Columbia Early China Seminar*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2011: 271–301, especially 293–300.

[29] In his above-mentioned study of literacy in the Western Zhou, Li Feng finds evidence of an "elite literacy" involving a larger social circle of readers than a mere "scribal literacy", ibid.: 272–273, 293–300.

With a few notable exceptions, however,[30] recent studies of bronze inscriptions tend to disregard the problem of authorship[31] or still follow the traditional account, which claims for epigraphy exactly what it has to say about received texts, namely, that inscriptions are integral works by individual authors with singular intentions. This view is questionable because, in a likely sequence of events, as many as four individuals may have been involved in the production of an inscription: (1) the owner as commissioner, (2) a composer who wrote the text or reworked pre-existent materials for publication, (3) a calligrapher who produced a master copy for the casting, and (4) a caster. In this scenario, three author functions, namely the responsibility for the text, its composition, and its production, were distributed among the four persons involved. Even if we disregard the production of the epigraph as a menial task irrelevant for its contents and composition, we still have to acknowledge that the author functions of responsibility and composition were divided among at least two individuals and end up with a clear-cut case of composite authorship.

Things are further complicated when we consider that one of these functions, namely the responsibility function, may have to be assigned to a person different from the owner of the vessel or may even have been divided among two individuals. According to a hypothesis proposed by Matsumaru Michio 松丸道雄, most inscriptions, especially investiture inscriptions relating how the king, assisted by his officials, appointed the owner of the inscribed vessel to an office and bestowed gifts on him, were drafted by royal scribes and cast in the king's foundry and, therefore, written from the point of view of the king and his scribes.[32] If this was in fact the case, we

[30] Among them, the above-mentioned study of Western Zhou statecraft by Li Feng, see his *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou,* 11–13.

[31] For example, Mark Edward Lewis in his influential book on *Writing and Authority in Early China:* 153, neglects inscriptions deliberately, explaining that they were intended for communication with ancestral spirits. I do not quite see why this, even if it were true, should justify their exclusion in studies of early Chinese writing culture and concepts of authorship.

[32] See Matsumaru Michio 松丸道雄, "Sei shū seidōki seisaku no haikei: Shū kinbun kenkyū, joshō" 西周青銅器製作の背景——周金文研究序章, in: *Tōyō bunka*

would either have a joint commissionership with the king as the key commissioner and the owner of the inscribed vessel as an assistant commissioner or end up with the king as sole commissioner and the owner of the inscribed vessel as its subscriber.[33] Moreover, owners and/or commissioners may have been involved in the process of composition of inscriptions. At least they may have discussed their contents with the scribes, provided them with texts which served as the basis for the inscriptions such as command and award documents and may have given them the go-ahead for the casting.[34]

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kenkyūjo kiyō 東洋文化研究所紀要 72 (1977): 1–128; reprinted in: *Sei shū seidōki to sono kokka* 西周 青銅器とその国家, ed. by Matsumaru Michio 松丸道雄, Tōkyō: Tōkyō daigaku shuppansha, 1980: 11–136. Compare Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou*: 11–12. For a criticism see Itō Michiharu 伊藤道治 (*Chūgoku kodai kokka no shihai kōzō* 中国古代国家 の支配構造, Tōkyō: Chūō kōronsha, 1987: 13–76), who argues in favour of the traditional view that the inscriptions are written from the point of view of their owners.

[33] Compare Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou,* 11.

[34] As regards the people who are routinely mentioned in bronze inscriptions, Lothar von Falkenhausen distinguishes between the "donor" (i.e. Ulrich Unger's "Stifter", corresponding to the above-mentioned assistant commissioner), the "maker" (i.e. the artisan involved in producing the vessel, corresponding to the above-mentioned calligrapher and caster), the "patron" (corresponding to the above-mentioned key commissioner), and, less important for our purposes, the "sub-patron", the "dedicatee", the "beneficiary" and the "sponsor"; see Lothar von Falkenhausen, "The Royal Audience and Its Reflections in Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions", in: Li Feng and David Prager Branner, eds., *Writing & Literacy in Early China: Studies from the Columbia Early China Seminar*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2011: 239–270, here 240. What is most relevant to our discussion is that von Falkenhausen interprets the occurrences of the donors' names in the inscriptions mostly as authorial self-references by quasi-personal pronouns of the first person singular (ibid.: 242–244, 247–249, 262). This unwarranted insertion of the authorial I into all parts of the inscriptions implies that von Falkenhausen conceives of the donors as their individual authors. At the same time, however, he attributes both the production of transcripts of court audiences and the composition of bronze inscriptions based on these transcripts to royal scribes (ibid.: 269–269). This is inconsistent with the implied concept of individual authorship.

In an attempt to throw more light on this complex case of composite authorship, I will first analyse a famous passage from the canonical *Records of Rites* (*Lǐ jì* 禮記, which provides us with the traditional view of the authorship of bronze inscriptions. I will give a new translation of the entire passage because it contains a received inscription, very likely a piece of pseudepigraphy produced by the *Lǐ jì* authors, which has hitherto been widely ignored.[35] This literary inscription may not only furnish us with information about the early imperial understanding of Western Zhōu (1045–771 BCE) epigraphy but may also contain indirect evidence of the author constellation in bronze inscriptions as reflected inadvertently in its early imperial reconstruction. In a second step, I will compare this reconstruction with an authentic early Western Zhōu bronze epigraph, namely the inscription on the "Tiānwáng guǐ" 天亡簋, i.e. the "guǐ-Tureen of Tiānwáng", which was excavated in the 1840s in Qíshān 岐山, modern Shǎnxī 陝西 province, and which dates from the second half of the eleventh century BCE.

3. An early imperial reconstruction of composite authorship in bronze inscriptions

In a rare comment on the function of authorial self-reference in early Chinese bronze inscriptions, the *Records of Rites* give the following explanation for the fact that the owners of the vessels transmitted their personal names in the epigraphs:[36]

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[35] Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Issues in Western Zhou Studies: A Review Article", 152, n. 26, apparently assumes it to be a genuine Western Zhou inscription.

[36] See *Lǐ jì*, chap. 25: "Jì tǒng 祭統." in: *Lǐ jì zhù shū* 禮記疏 ed. by Ruǎn Yuán 阮元 (1764–1849), in: *Sìbù bèiyào* 四部備要 Táiběi: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1965. *juàn* 49: 10a–11a:

夫銘者，自名也。稱其先祖之美而明著之，後世也。爲祖者莫有美焉，莫得稱焉，銘義稱美而不稱惡，此孝子孫之心也。唯賢者能之。

銘者，論撰其先祖之德，

功烈、勳勞、慶賞、聲名，列於天下而酌之祭器。自成其名焉，以祀其先祖者也。顯揚先祖，所以崇孝也。身比焉，順也。明示後世，教也。

是故子孫之於先祖也，雖有美而弗銘，弗稱也。是弗孝也。雖有惡而銘之，稱之，是揚其親之惡也，是亦弗孝也。

故衛孔悝之鼎銘曰："公曰：'叔舅！乃祖莊叔左右成公，成公乃命莊叔隨難於漢陽，賜之山川土田陪敦，俾處於衛，以守先王之宗廟，纂乃祖服。'"公曰："叔舅！予女賜汝秬鬯一卣，彤弓一，彤矢百，旅弓十，旅矢千，鉤車二乘，敬之哉！無忝乃祖考！"此衛孔悝之鼎銘也。

古之君子，其銘也，一稱其先祖之美，以顯揚於後世也。以昭其子孫，使知其祖之有美德，是以銘之，是祖有令名，而顯於後世也，此孝子之所以事其

As a matter of general principle, it is a fact that on those cauldrons having inscriptions the inscriber names himself. The inscriber names himself so as to praise the merits of his ancestors and to make them known to later generations. As regards ancestors, there is no one who does not have merits and no one who does not have flaws in his character. It is the intention of the inscriber to commend the merits and not to mention the flaws. This is the mind of filial sons and grandsons. Only the excellent ones are capable of that.

The inscriber sets forth that his ancestors have capability and competence, merits and achievements, exploits and accomplishments, accolades and awards, a good name and reputation, displays these to All-under-Heaven and carefully chooses them for inscription on sacrificial vessels. He leaves his own name on these so as to sacrifice to his ancestors. Raising the ancestors' reputation is the means by which one upholds filial piety. Putting oneself on a par with them is compliance. Demonstrating this to later generations is instruction.

As a matter of general principle, it is a fact that as far as inscriptions are concerned, both forefathers and descendants benefit from them even if they contain only a single commendation. Therefore, as regards inscriptions in the view of the gentleman, he esteems both that which they commend and that which they bring about. As for those who made them, their clairvoyance was sufficient to see their ancestors' merits, their benevolence was sufficient to establish them, and their intelligence was sufficient to make use of them. They may indeed be called excellent. To be excellent without being boastful, that may indeed be called correct and respectful.

Therefore, the inscription on the cauldron of Kǒng Kuī of Wèi[37] reads as follows: "Sixth month, *dīnghài*-day [twentyfourth day of the sexagenary cycle]: The duke[38] arrived at the Grand Temple. He said: 'Younger uncle! Your ancestor Zhuāng Shū[39] assisted Duke Chéng[40].

[37] A grand officer in the state of Wèi, floruit ca. 480 BCE. He was forced by his mother and the deposed crown prince Kuàiwèi 蒯, i.e. Wèi Zhuāng gōng 衛莊公 (r. 480 to 478 BCE), to help him seize the throne of Wèi in 481 BCE from his own son; see *Zuǒ zhuàn*, Āi gōng 15.5 (*Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhù* 春秋左傳注 ed. Yáng Bójùn 楊伯峻, 4 vols., Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1981, vol. 4: 1694–1696).

[38] I.e. Duke Zhuāng of Wèi (Wèi Zhuāng gōng 衛莊公, r. 480 to 478 BCE).

[39] I.e. Kǒng Kuī's sixth-generation ancestor (*qī shì zǔ* 七世祖) Kǒng Dá 孔達, who committed suicide in 595 BCE, see *Zuǒ zhuàn*, Xuān gōng 宣公14.1 (*Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhù*, vol. 2: 753).

[40] Ruled the state of Wèi from 634 to 600 BCE

Duke Chéng in due course charged him to follow him in his adversity to the south of the Hàn-river and then to take up residence in Zōngzhōu, making haste on his mission without growing tired.[41] [Later] this [example of Zhuāng Shū] caused the assistance for Duke Xiàn to arise.[42] Duke Xiàn in due course charged Chéng Shū[43] to carry on the duty of your ancestor [Zhuāng Shū]. Your deceased father Wén Shū[44] reinvigorated the old aspirations, rose to lead the ministers, dignitaries and officials and personally took care of the state of Wèi. He exerted himself for the duke's family, did not slacken from dawn to dusk so that all the people proclaimed him good.' The duke said: 'Younger uncle! I give you an inscription. You continue your deceased father's service.' Kuī bowed, touched his head to the ground, and said: 'In response I extol [your beneficence] so as to model myself on it. I will di-

[41] As an ally of Chǔ 楚, Duke Chéng of Wèi (Wèi Chéng gōng 衛成公) was forced to flee to Chén 陳 after the defeat of Chǔ in the battle of Chéngpú 城濮 632 BCE and sent his younger brother shū Wǔ 叔武 to the interstate meeting in Jiàntǔ 踐土, where the hegemony of Jìn 晉was confirmed; see *Zuǒ zhuàn*, Xī gōng 28: 1–3, in: *Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhù*, vol. 1: 451–67. When Duke Chéng of Wèi tried to attend the interstate meeting in Wēn 温 at the end of the same year, he was put under arrest by Duke Wén of Jìn (Jìn Wén gōng 晉文公, r. 636–628 B.C.E.) and charged with the murder of his younger brother shū Wǔ. According to *Zuǒ zhuàn*, Xī gōng 28:8 and 30:2 (*Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhù*, vol. 1: 472, 478–79), he was confined to a secluded room in the "capital" (*jīngshī* 京師) for two years and survived a poison attack by Duke Wén of Jìn before Duke Xī of Lǔ (Lǔ Xī gōng 魯僖公, r. 659–627 BCE) interceded on his behalf so that he could return to his homeland. The inscription on the cauldron of Kǒng Kuī of Wèi as quoted in the *Lǐ jì* implies that the term "capital" (*jīngshī* 京師) in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* refers to Zōngzhōu 宗周i.e. the Eastern Zhōu capital Chéngzhōu 成周

[42] The great-grandson of Duke Chéng, ruled the state of Wèi from 576 to 559 BCE.

[43] According to Zhèng Xuán's 鄭玄 (127–200) commentary to the *Lǐ jì*, Chéng Shū, i.e. Kǒng Chéngzǐ 孔成子 or Kǒng Zhēngchú 孔烝鉏, was Zhuāng Shū's grandson and thus a fourth-generation ancestor of Kǒng Kuī; see *Lǐ jì zhù shū*, *juàn* 49: 10b. Yáng Bójùn's 楊伯峻 (1909–1992) commentary to *Zuǒ zhuàn*, Chéng gōng 成公 14.5 (*Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhù*, vol. 2: 870) says that he was Zhuāng Shū's son, i.e. a fifth-generation ancestor of Kǒng Kuī. However, this is not in line with the genealogy in the *Shì běn* 世本, see *Shì běn bā zhǒng* 世本八種, Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 2008, reconstruction by Zhāng Shù 張澍 (1781–1847): 119.

[44] I.e. Kǒng Kuī's father Kǒng Yǔ 孔圉, who died 480 BCE, see *Zuǒ zhuàn*, Āi gōng 15.5 (*Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhù*, vol. 4: 1694).

> ligently attend to your great charge and apply it on the sacrificial vessel for the winter sacrifice[45].'"
>
> This is the inscription on the cauldron of Kǒng Kuī of Wèi. It was in this vein that the gentleman of old set forth the merits of their ancestors and made them known to later generations, thus putting themselves on a par with their ancestors and valuing their kin and country. As for those among sons and grandsons who take care of the ancestral temples and altars of the land and grain: If their ancestors do not have [a particular] merit and yet the descendants commend them for it, then this is hypocrisy. If they have [a particular] competence and yet their descendants are not aware of it, then this is a want of clairvoyance. If they are aware of it but do not transmit it, then this is a want of benevolence. These three are what a gentleman regards as shameful.

One has to bear in mind that this account of the author constellation in epigraphy presumably dates from the second century BCE at the earliest and thus was composed more than half a millennium after the heyday of bronze metallurgy and epigraphy in China, that it was written in a period when conceptualizations of literary authorship and avowals of individual authorship were formulated for the first time and when the earliest expressions for the concept of "author" occurred as a reflection of changing circumstances and modes of text production. Quite predictably, the passage implies that the owners of inscribed bronze vessels were equated with the authors of their inscriptions. These were conceived of as single individuals who originated, composed and inscribed a text and, moreover, assumed responsibility for it by inserting references to their names. Various important author functions, i.e. origination, composition, responsibility and production function, are integrated into a single source of meaning, referred to as "the inscriber" (*míngzhě* 銘者. Just the expression itself, a paronomastic play on the homophonous words *míng* 銘 OC *meŋ, "to inscribe", and *míng* 名, OC *meŋ, "to name (oneself)", which relates both the mode of text production and the genre to the explicit reference to the author's

[45] On the sacrificial term *zhēng* 烝, "winter sacrifice." i.e. a sacrifice in which steamed rice was offered to the ancestors, see Wang Ping, "Der Glaube der Westlichen Zhou-Zeit im Spiegel der Opferbezeichnungen in den Bronzeinschriften", in: *minima sinica* 1/2006: 20–44.

name, implies the conflation of all the above mentioned author functions. Such a conflation, however, is highly improbable in the case of an inscription.

Moreover, the passage ascribes a singular purpose to the single "inscriber", namely the intention to "raise the ancestors' reputation" (*xiǎnyáng xiānzǔ* 顯揚先祖). In a radical Confucian reinterpretation – we have to bear in mind that Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions had been cast long before Confucius (551–479 BCE) saw the light of day – the early imperial interpreters of epigraphy tried to hide the fact that owners of inscriptions also – and later primarily – wanted their own accomplishments to be inscribed and thus preserved and conveyed to posterity.[46]

The Confucian bias of the text may also help to explain why its author quotes an inscription ascribed to Kǒng Kuī 孔悝 of Wèi 衛 rather than another one. Kǒng Kuī became notorious for his part in the "disorder in Wèi" (Wèi *luàn* 衛亂) in 481/480 BCE when he supported the deposed crown prince Kuàiwèi 蒯聵, helped him seize the throne of Wèi from his own son in 481 BCE and rule as Duke Zhuāng of Wèi (Wèi Zhuāng gōng 衛莊公) from 480 to 478 BCE. According to the *Zuǒ zhuàn*, however, he was forced to do so by his own mother Bó Jī 伯姬, Kuàiwèi's older sister, who is depicted as a lewd schemer.[47] Although tradition characterises Kǒng Kuī ambiguously, he may be seen as both a victim to the machinations of a stereotypical depraved woman and as a loyal minister who supported the legitimate heir to the throne. Actually, the inscription ascribed to Kǒng Kuī 孔悝 of Wèi 衛 makes this latter association when it aligns him with his sixth-generation ancestor Kǒng Dá 孔達, who is said to have assisted Duke Chéng of Wèi (Wèi Chéng gōng 衛成公, 634–600 BCE) after the defeat of Chǔ 楚 in the Battle of Chéngpú 城濮 in 632 BCE.[48] It may have been quoted or even produced to restore the reputation of both Kǒng Kuī and Kuàiwèi and clear them of charges of political subversion and upheaval.

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[46] Compare Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Issues in Western Zhou Studies: A Review Article", 152, n. 26, for the notion of filial piety which informs this text.

[47] See *Zuǒ zhuàn*, Āi gōng 15.5, in: *Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhù*, vol. 4: 1694–1696.

[48] See *Zuǒ zhuàn*, Xī gōng 28: 1–3, 8, and 30: 2, in: *Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhù*, vol. 1: 451–67, 472, 478–79.

The inscription itself may well be a forged piece of pseudepigraphy as it purports to date from about 481, i.e. the transition from Chūnqiū- to Zhànguó-period, but at the same time contains elements typical of Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions, namely a date and place notation, an event notation, a gift notation and an incomplete dedication, which includes the recognition of the duke's beneficence but does not mention an ancestral dedicatee. Moreover, it does not seem to be in line with most of the general tendencies of Eastern Zhōu bronze inscriptions as described by Gilbert Mattos, especially with the trend towards casting vessels "on one's own initiative" (*zì zuò* 自作) and with an increasingly self-panegyrical style.[49] This lends itself to the suggestion that the authors of the *Lǐ jì* themselves composed an archaistic inscription according to how they thought it should have been written and used it to rehabilitate its protagonists.

Most strangely and unexpectedly, the gift given by the duke is not, as in other inscriptions, "fine metal" (*jí jīn* 吉金) to cast the vessel but an "inscription" (*míng* 銘), which can only be meant to be the quoted epigraph ascribed to Kǒng Kuī of Wèi itself![50] The mention of the inscription as a gift to the owner of the vessel is not only highly exceptional, it also backfires on the strategy of the frame narrative, which presents the owner of the vessel as its inscriber and as the single author of its inscription. This tell-tale contradiction of Kǒng Kuī composing an inscription given to him by the duke may be interpreted as a piece of indirect evidence of the actual author constellation in earlier Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions as reflected inadvertently in its distorted reconstruction. It indicates that many of these epigraphs may indeed have been cast in the royal foundry, composed by royal scribes and written from the point of view of the Zhōu king, whose relation to the owner of the vessel would either have been that of a key commissioner to an assistant commissioner

[49] See Gilbert L. Mattos, "Eastern Zhou Bronze Inscriptions." In: Edward L. Shaughnessy, ed., *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts*, Early China Special Monograph Series 3, Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China and The Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1997: 85–123, especially 86–93.

[50] For the translation of *jí jīn* as "fine metal" see ibid.: 89, n.5.

or that of a sole commissioner vis-à-vis a subscriber, as Matsumaru postulated in 1977. To shed further light on this point, however, we must take a closer look at an authentic Western Zhōu bronze inscription.

4. Authorship constellation in the "Tiānwáng guǐ" 天亡簋 inscription

The inscription on the "Tiānwáng *guǐ*", i.e. the "*guǐ*-Tureen of Tiānwáng", belongs to the earliest Western Zhōu bronze epigraphs. It can be dated to the reign of King Wǔ (Wǔ wáng 武王, r. 1049/45–1043 BCE) and must have been produced shortly after the Battle of Mùyě 牧野 in 1045 BCE, when the Zhōu conquered the preceding Shāng 商 dynasty (ca. 1600–1045 BCE).[51] The inscription, which has eight columns, was cast into the inner base of the tureen. It describes how Tiānwáng 天亡 assisted King Wǔ in the sacrificial rites for his father, King Wén (Wén wáng 文王), and for "God on High" (Shàngdì 上帝). This must have happened in the first two years after the conquest of the Shāng and the foundation of the Zhōu dynasty in 1045 BCE. According to Wolfgang Behr, the inscription consists of 19 lines of irregular verse.[52] Whereas my transcription, which essentially follows Behr's, is arranged according to the division of the inscription into eight columns, my translation, which relies on Behr's comments, separates the text into these 19 lines of verse rather than into the eight columns of its original inscriptional arrangement. The reason is that this arrangement depends on the arbitrary criterion of vessel size and shape, whereas the 19 lines of verse not only reflect the prosimetrical form of the text but also correspond to its units of meaning and thus are an important criterion for punctuating the text. However, I will not try to reproduce the rhyme in my translation.

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[51] I follow the dates as given by Edward L. Shaughnessy in his "Absolute Chronology of the Western Zhou Dynasty" (*Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels*, 217–87).

[52] See Behr, *Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung*, 552–54.

Transcription of the "Tiānwáng guǐ" 天亡簋 inscription [53]

1 〔乙〕亥。王 又（有）大 豐（禮）。王 凡（泛）三 方。
王
2 祀 𠂤（于）天 室，降。天 亡 又（佑）王。
3 衣（殷）祀 𠂤（于）王，不（丕）顯 考 文 王。
4 事 喜（饎）上 帝。 文 王 [illegible]才（在）上。不（丕）
5 顯 王 乍（則）省（省）。不（丕）𢦏（肆）王
乍（則）庶（賡）。不（丕）克
6 乞（訖）衣（殷）王 祀。丁丑。王 鄉（饗），大 [illegible]（房）。
王 降。
7 亡 助（勛）爵 後 [illegible]。隹（唯） 朕（朕）
8 又（有）[illegible]（蔑），每（敏）揚 王 休 𠂤（于）
[illegible]（尊）白（毁）。

[53] See *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 殷周金文集成, 18 vols., Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1984–1994, vol. 8, no. 4261: 195; compare figure 1. Transcription adapted, with slight modifications, from Wolfgang Behr, *Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung*: 534–35. Compare Shirakawa Shizuka 白川靜 "Kinbun Tsūshaku" 金文通釋, in: *Hakutsuru Bijutsukan shi* 白鶴美術館誌 1 (1962) – 56 (1984), Kobe: Hakutsuru Bijutsukan, fascicle 1, no. 1: 1–38, and Wáng Huī 王輝, *Shāng Zhōu jīnwén* 商周金文, Běijīng: Wénwù Chūbǎnshè, 2006, no. 6: 34–38.

Translation of the "Tiānwáng guǐ"

天亡簋 *inscription*		*rhyme*[54]		
Yǐhài-day [twelfth day of the sexagenary cycle].				
The King held the Great Rite.		禮	*(Cə)-rrij-ʔ	X
The King rode in a boat on three sides [of the sacral lake].	方	*paŋ		A
The King sacrificed on Mount Tiānshì and descended.	降	*kkruŋ-s		a
Tiānwáng assisted the King.		王	*waŋ	A
He made a great sacrifice to the King,		王	*waŋ	A
The illustrious deceased father, King Wén.		王	*waŋ	A
He served God on High with a sacrifice of white millet.		帝	*ttek-s	X
King Wén is stern on high.		上	*daŋ-s	A
The illustrious King did good [deeds].	省	*sreŋ-ʔ		α
The majestic King emulated [him].	賡	*kkraŋ		A
He was greatly able to make an end to the sacrifices of the kings of Yīn.		祀	*s-lə-ʔ	X
Dīngchǒu-day [fourteenth day of the sexagenary cycle].				
The King feasted [his ancestors]	饗	*xaŋ		A
And [used] the large house-shaped sacrificial stand.	房	*baŋ		A
The King descended.		降	*kkruŋ-s	a
Without effort he ennobled the descendants [of earlier				

[54] Rhymes adapted, with slight modifications, from Behr, *Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung*, 552–54. Compare Behr's translation and comments ibid.: 535–51.

kings] and [ceremonially]			
wrapped up the weapons.*phu	橐		B
Because I have [these] merits,	蔑	*mme[k,t]	X
I eagerly extol the king's beneficence			
on this treasured *guǐ*-tureen	敦	*k^{w}ru-ʔ	B

This inscription poses a philological problem, which is particularly relevant to our interpretation and understanding of the text. The last but one line has the word *zhèn* 朕, which is a preclassical personal pronoun of the first person. In both Shāng dynasty oracle bone inscriptions and early received texts such as the *Book of Documents* (*Shàng shū* 尚書), this pronoun can be used either as subject of a sentence or as an attribute.[55] In Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions, however, it is normally said to be always possessive, not nominative.[56] Therefore, most scholars, including Behr,[57] believe that in this inscription Zhèn refers to the assumed personal name of Tiānwáng – and is used as a self-designation of the author.

However, there is another early Western Zhōu epigraph, which appears to have *zhèn* 朕 as a personal pronoun of the first person in the nominative, namely the inscription on the "Róng *guǐ*" 榮簋, also known as "Xíng hóu *guǐ*" 邢侯簋 , which probably dates from the reign of King Kāng (Kāng wáng 康王, r. 1005/3-978 BCE).[58] Most in-

[55] For exhaustive evidence see Hóng Bō 洪波, "Shànggǔ Hànyǔ dìyī rénchēng dàicí *yú*, *wǒ*, *zhèn* de fēnbié" 上古汉语第一人称代词余(予)"我"朕的别[Differences between the Personal Pronouns of the First Person *yú*, *wǒ* and *zhèn* in Archaic Chinese], in: *Yǔyán yánjiū* 语言研究1996/01: 80–87, and Wǔ Zhènyù 武振玉, *Liǎng Zhōu jīnwén cílèi yánjiū (xūcí piān)* 两周金文词类研究(虚词篇)[A Study on Word Categories in the Bronze Inscriptions of the Zhou Dynasties (Section on Function Words)], Ph.D. Dissertation Jílín Dàxué, 2006: 23–26.

[56] For this prevailing view see, for example, Wǔ Zhènyù's overview of the syntactical functions of *zhèn* and other personal pronouns of the first person, especially *wǒ* 我 and *yú* 余, in his *Liǎng Zhōu jīnwén cílèi yánjiū (xūcí piān)*: 19–41, especially 24–25 and 37–38.

[57] See Behr, *Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung:* 551.

[58] Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels:* 109, no. 8. For the inscription see *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng*, vol. 8: 166, no. 4241. See also Wǔ Zhènyù, *Liǎng Zhōu jīnwén cílèi yánjiū (xūcí piān):* 24, for an inscription of the late

terestingly, the pronoun, exactly as in the "Tiānwáng *guǐ*" inscription, shows up in the last sentence of the final dedicatory portion of this inscription: "I am the servant of the Son of Heaven, and in order to document the royal command, I cast this vessel for the Duke of Zhōu."[59]

It does not seem reasonable to assume that *zhèn* in this inscription as well as in other early Western Zhōu epigraphs cannot be nominative when it could be used as the subject of a sentence before and after that period. The conspicuous near-absence of nominative *zhèn* in Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions may be explained with their preference for certain formulaic phrases and habitual collocations in which *zhèn* by pure chance is exclusively employed in an attributive sense. Accordingly, Wáng Huī 王輝 in his *Shāng Zhōu jīnwén* 商周金文[Shāng and Zhōu Bronze Inscriptions] reads 朕 in the "Tiānwáng *guǐ*" inscription as the personal pronoun *zhèn*, i.e. as a reference to an authorial 'I'.[60] As it is used in the concluding recognition of the king's beneficence, it must refer to the owner of the vessel, Tiānwáng.

Wolfgang Behr has called this text one of the earliest datable examples of end-rhyme poetry worldwide.[61] I should like to add that it is also one of the earliest authentic announcements of authorship worldwide. The inscription commemorates the accomplishments of one of its authors after King Wǔ's conquest of the Shāng. In its ded-

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Chūnqiū period, which indubitably has *zhèn* as a personal pronoun of the first person in the nominative.

[59] I follow Wáng Huī's transcription in his *Shāng Zhōu jīnwén*, no. 14: 61: 朕臣天子，用典王命，乍周寶. Compare Shirakawa Shizuka, "Kinbun Tsūshaku", fascicle 11, no. 59: 591–617, here 604–05. I adopt the translation by Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou:* 18. Compare the similar translation by Sarah Allan, "On the Identity of Shang Di 上帝and the Origin of the Concept of a Celestial Mandate (*Tian Ming* 天命)", in: *Early China* 31 (2007): 1–46, here 36. Maria Khayutina, "Royal Hospitality and Geopolitical Constitution of the Western Zhou Polity", in: *T'oung Pao* 96 (2010): 1–73, here 17, provides a translation of the entire inscription but interprets *zhèn* 朕 as an attribute to *chén tiānzǐ* 臣天子: "my service to the Son of Heaven".

[60] See Wáng Huī, *Shāng Zhōu jīnwén:* 37, 13.

[61] See Behr, *Reimende Bronzeinschriften und die Entstehung der chinesischen Endreimdichtung*, 555.

ication, this person refers to himself by making use of the authorial 'I' and states the reasons for which he has commissioned the composition and casting of the inscription. Quite obviously, he avows himself to having originated the text and assumes responsibility for it. However, this is clearly the variety of "the author, the 'I' presenting himself as the creator of a passage which is addressed to a certain public" rather than an author who shows responsibility for an entire document and its production.[62] As he is referred to by his personal name as Tiānwáng in the first part of the inscription and as this part is clearly written from the point of view of the king, he was probably not the only commissioner of this inscription. Only the last two lines of this inscription, or, put differently, eleven out of a total of 78 characters, i.e. less than 15 perc ent of the entire text, are reserved for Tiānwáng and his formulaic dedication. The first seventeen lines describe his assistance during the sacrificial rites for Shàngdì and King Wén from the royal perspective and praise the merits of King Wǔ and his father, King Wén, namely the conquest of the Yīn-Shāng, which stands for their martial virtues, and the restoration of peace, epitomised in the ennoblement of the descendants of earlier kings and the ceremony of wrapping up the weapons, which symbolises the civil virtues of the two kings.

Although we have to bear in mind that indicators of authorial presence, be they explicit or implicit, essentially furnish evidence of the author figuration of a text, i.e. information about the author functions as distributed according to the text itself, these findings strongly suggest that we have an author constellation which is characterised by a joint commissionership with the king as key commissioner and the owner of the inscribed vessel as assistant commissioner. As the dedication of the inscription is formulaic, the assistant commissioner may not even have been consulted about its composition. In this case, his commissionership would have been reduced to a state near the point of subscription. Probably, the author functions of composition and responsibility were divided among three individuals: an anonymous royal scribe, the king as key commissioner and the owner of the vessel as assistant commissioner or

[62] See Harbsmeier, "Authorial Presence in Some Pre-Buddhist Chinese Texts", 242.

subscriber. As most of the author functions are located at the royal court, the resulting author constellation is highly asymmetric. This implies that the inscription on the "Tiānwáng *guǐ*" has to be read primarily as a historical record, written from the point of view of King Wǔ and commemorating his accomplishments, and must not necessarily be understood as a document of ritual communication between Tiānwáng and his ancestors and descendants.[63]

5. Resumé

What does this mean in view of the history of the concept of "author" as outlined in the first part of this article? It is obvious that the "Tiānwáng *guǐ*" inscription does not yet integrate the various author functions such as origination, composition, responsibility and production function into a single source of meaning, be it an "inscriber", a "patron" or a commissioner. As its authorship is composite, its communicative functions do not seem to be reducible to ritual communication with ancestors. In fact, the far greater part of it seems to be a commemorative history designed to convey King Wǔ's achievements to posterity. It was only much later, i.e. since the third century BCE when individuality and self-reflection as preconditions to individual authorship were first developed, that epigraphs as well as received texts came to be mistakenly ascribed to individual authorial figures. This strategy to reinterpret composite as individual authorship may have inspired later literati such as Jīn Shèngtàn 金聖歎 (1608–1661) to appropriate earlier works of an-

[63] For further evidence of composite authorship in recently excavated inscriptions, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, "The Writing of a Late Western Zhou Bronze Inscription", in: *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 61 (2007:3), 845–877, especially 851, where Shaughnessy points to the distinction between the use of less honorific *wáng* 王 in the "public" portion of the inscription and more honorific *tiānzǐ* 天子 in the "private" portion, i.e. the dedication. In a private e-mail communication (19 October 2012) he adds "that one could also pay attention to the names by which the patron (in Falkenhausen's terms) is named. Although I have never made a systematic survey, my sense is that when there is a distinction, the person is referred to by 名 in the public portion (i.e., when addressed by the king) and by 字 (i.e., his adult assumed name) in his own dedication."

onymous and composite authorship.[64] Unfortunately, the 'traditional' account of authorship in early China, which had been triggered by a burgeoning notion of individual authorship fully emerging in the first century CE, does also seem to still affect academic perceptions even today.

[64] See Roland Altenburger's contribution on "Jin Shengtan's Construction of Textual Authority and Authorship in his Commented Edition of *Shuihu zhuan* (*The Water Margin Saga*)" to this volume.

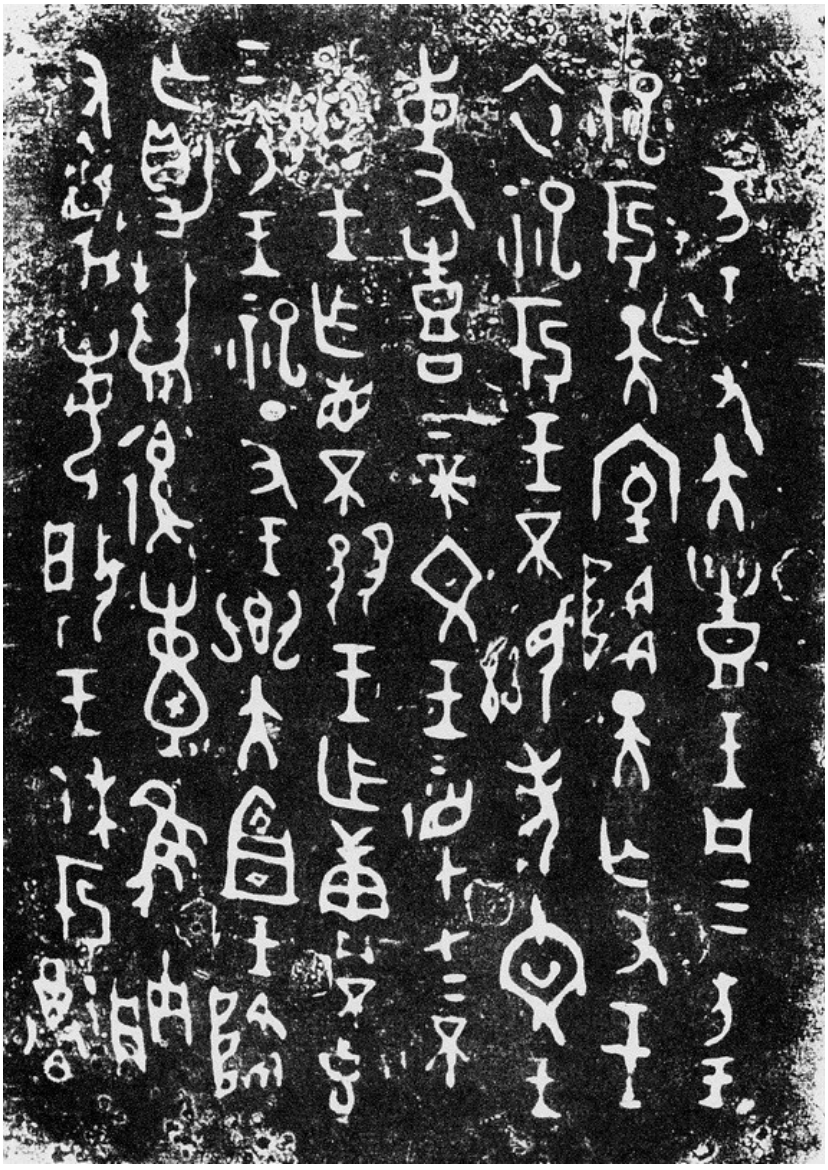

Figure 1: Inscription of the "Tiānwáng *guǐ*" 天亡簋
(from *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 殷周金文集成#4261, vol. 8, p. 195)

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AUTHORSHIP IN THE *CANON OF SONGS (SHI JING)*

Alexander Beecroft

Introduction: The *Shi Jing*

The earliest collection of poetic texts in the Chinese tradition is the so-called *Shi Jing* 詩經 or *Canon of Songs*, an anthology of mostly anonymous poems in four generic categories: the *Guofeng* 國風, or "Airs of the States," the *Xiaoya* 小雅, or "Minor Court Songs," the *Daya* 大雅, or "Major Court Songs," and the *Song* 訟 or "Temple Hymns." The *Shi Jing* is traditionally said to have been edited into its current form by Confucius (551–479 BC). There is little reason to take this attribution seriously; texts composed significantly later than Confucius include poems not in our *Shi Jing*, suggesting that the canon was not yet closed; further, it has been suggested that the earliest compositional layers of the *Lunyu* 論語 or *Analects* of Confucius make little or no reference to the *Shi Jing*, or to the other texts traditionally identified as the Confucian Classics (i.e. the *Documents*, *Rites*, *Changes* and Spring and Autumn Annals).[1] Furthermore, our evidence for the claim of Confucian editorship is itself late, with no text in the transmitted tradition making the claim prior to about 100 BC.[2] The dating of the poems within the *Shi Jing* itself is even more problematic: most scholars would suggest that the poems date from approximately 1000–600 BC, but there have been suggestions that they may in fact date to no earlier than the fourth century BC.[3]

Even accepting the more conventional (and earlier) dating for the poems of the anthology, it is extremely difficult to date the compilation of the anthology as such. In part, this is due to a feature of the classical Chinese written language: citations of the *Shi Jing* in early texts (such as the historical text Zuozhuan 左傳, which probably dates from the fourth century BC) tend to take the form *shi yue* 詩曰, "the poem says," where it is difficult to know whether or not the

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[1] Steven Jay Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991: 48.

[2] Michael Nylan, *The Five "Confucian" Classics*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001: 6.

[3] E. Bruce Brooks and A. Taeko Brooks, *The Original Analects: Sayings of Confucius and His Successors*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1998: 7.

poem in question is being thought of as a part of a closed and canonical anthology. Certainly, the Zuozhuan cites in this fashion a variety of poems, both inside and outside our anthology, frequently as parts of reported speeches by historical actors, and often with textual variants.[4] The earliest known commentary on the *Songs* is the recently-recovered *Confucius' Discussion of the Songs* (*Kongzi shi lun*孔子詩論thought to date from approximately 375 BC; this text divides the songs that it discusses into the four generic categories of our anthologies, but like the Zuozhuan it includes poems that are not in our anthology; moreover, where our *Shi Jing* divides the *Airs of the States* into fifteen subsections by the states to which they are associated, the Confucius' *Discussion of the Songs* leaves the category (which it labels as the *bangfeng* 邦風, using an earlier terminology unaffected by a taboo surrounding the given name of the founding ruler of the Han dynasty) undivided. Later texts, such as the Shuanggudui manuscript, recovered from a tomb sealed in 165 BC, identify each of the *Airs* as coming from specific states; further, of all the states represented in the Mao edition, only the state of Gui 檜 is not found in the remains of the Shuanggudui manuscript. This latter text, however, has sufficient textual variation and apparent changes in the sequence of poems within the collection to show that it represents a distinct strand of textual transmission, not only from the Mao edition (the only edition to have survived), but from the editions of the Lu, Qi and Han schools (the other schools known from the Han-era) as well.[5]

While the available evidence is scattered and inconclusive, then, we have enough information at least to suggest a little about the history of the *Shi Jing* as an anthology. The poems themselves seem to have been in circulation at least by the fourth century (as we shall see, some are explicitly linked to much earlier historical events, and may well date to the eighth century BC). In the course of the fourth century, there seems to have been a gradual shift (whether a total paradigm shift across all users of the *Songs* or rather the

[4] On the typology of these episodes, see David Schaberg, *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001: 72–80, 234–43. See also chapters five, six and seven of Alexander Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

[5] Martin Kern, "The Odes in Excavated Manuscripts." In: Kern, Martin, ed. *Text and Ritual in Early China*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005: 152.

victory of one approach over another) from an amorphous and unbounded collection of *Songs* to a closed canon of particular *Songs*, a canon which, over the ensuing centuries, becomes ever more clearly fixed as to the sequence, arrangement and text. Over time, the interpretation of the poems seems to have become more fixed as well; we know that each of the Han-era "schools" of interpretation offered their own comprehensive accounts of the meanings of the *Songs*. Of these, the Mao interpretation, embodied in the Mao Preface (which may date from around 150 BC, or later), increasingly became canonical; this text, whose interpretation of the *Songs* will form the basis of much of this chapter, begins with a general discussion of the social function of poetry, and continues with brief introductions to each of the individual poems. These introductions generally seek to situate the poem in question within a political and historical context, usually through the devices of praise and blame. The canonical significance of the Mao Preface increased greatly as it acquired new layers of authoritative commentary in editions compiled under Zheng Xuan 鄭玄(127–200 AD) and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648). Indeed, recent research increasingly suggests that it was in the era of Zheng Xuan in particular that the orthodox "Confucian"[6] interpretation of the *Songs* and the other *Classics* acquired the patina of dynastic approval that it was to hold for the remainder of imperial history, although to be sure dissenting views are to be found even in Zheng Xuan's commentary, and become an important part of the hermeneutic tradition with the Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200).[7]

[6] Henceforth, I use "Ruist" in place of "Confucian," in order to more accurately characterise an ideological approach rather than a lineage descended from a common teacher. See Nicolas Zufferey, *To the Origins of Confucianism: The Ru in Pre-Qin Times and During the Early Han Dynasty,* Bern: Peter Lang Publishing, 2003: 359–68 on the *ru*, originally ritual specialists. When the "Confucian" classics were institutionalised as such in the Han, the term *ru* was used for specialists in those classics. The term Ruist thus refers to specialists in classical exegesis, and those who adhered to the ideologies associated with the classics, a group who traced their origins to Confucius despite having a somewhat different project.

[7] Baoxuan Wang, *Gu Jin Jian Zong: Liang Han Jing Xue*, Chu ban., Zhonghua wen hua bao ku 9, Taibei Shi: Wan juan lou tu shu, 2001; Shigemasa Fukui, *Kandai Jukyō no shiteki kenkyū: Jukyō no kangakuka o meguru teisetsu no saikentō,* Tōkyō: Kyūko

The question of the authorship of the *Shi Jing* is accordingly a complex one: are we talking about the (mostly unnamed) individuals who first composed the poems themselves, the historical figures who cite the poems in the *Zuozhuan* and other texts, Confucius (the putative editor of the collection), the unknown individuals who, over centuries, structured our collection, or the commentators who, also over centuries, gave the poems the meanings that two millennia of readers associated them with? Elsewhere, I have suggested that the situation calls for a clearer definition of authorship, and I have suggested the following as a working start on the question:[8]

> Authorship is a property ascribed to a literary text.[9] It reflects an attempt to ground and contextualise that text by assigning its composition and/or performance to a specific individual, real or hypothetical, and the narrative representation of that composition and/or performance constitutes a major category of evidence concerning authorship.

This definition bears certain obvious similarities to the understanding of authorship developed by Steineck and Schwermann in the introduction to this volume. First of all, and at a most basic level, my definition of authorship, like Steineck and Schwermann's, sees the concept as "the index of a congeries of problems relating to the text." In other words, for me as much as for Steineck and Schwermann, authorship (and especially authorship in pre-modern and non-Western contexts) is less a phenomenon in which a single figure is credited with all aspects of a work, and instead a set of ideas about how texts are produced and circulated, and how they acquire their meaning that is thought out through identifying the text as

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Shoin, 2005; Michael Nylan, "Classics without canonization: learning and authority in Qin and Han." In: *Early Chinese Religion: Shang Through Han (1250 BC–220 AD)*, ed. by John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2009: 721–76.

[8] Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation*, 16.

[9] I borrow this first phrase (slightly altered) from Stephen Owen, *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006: 7. Owen is speaking about authorship in Chinese poetry of the early centuries AD, but his thoughts on that subject apply *a fortiori* to earlier periods.

being in some way the product of individuals (named or anonymous, singular or plural, real or invented).

Steineck and Schwermann go on to discuss three especially salient functions of authorship in texts from outside the modern West: origination, responsibility, and interpretation. In my definition, and in my work more generally, I have explored authorship as it pertains to each of these three functions. My definition itself (as with much other work on authorship) focuses primarily on the origination function. As I show in the book in some detail, not only can the composition and performance aspects of the origination function of a text be identified with distinct individuals, groups, or moments, but performance, particularly in the case of the *Shi Jing*, can also be as important, if not more important, than composition in establishing the origination function of a text. (In this respect the situation with the *Shi Jing* resembles the complex layering of scenes of authorship and/or components of the author-function described for the "Kongmudoha ka"by Marion Eggers later in this volume). This privileging of performance over composition has implications for the responsibility and interpretation functions as well. The possibility of multiple performance contexts for a text, in addition to any account of its composition, obviously allows for fresh forms of interpretation, and a more complex and diffuse network of responsibility. Just as Schwermann, in his chapter above on Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, highlights the importance of distinguishing between multiple commissioners of an inscription (and multiple technicians responsible for its embodiment), so, too, I argue, must we understand that the responsibility and interpretation functions for *Shi Jing* poems must be distributed among the various individuals cited as performing the poem, as well as the scribes or compilers who construct or organise the anecdotes in which those citations appear, not to mention whichever individual or individuals composed or were said to have composed the poem itself.

For the purposes of my definition, then, *all* of the above agents might be considered as "authors," with the various functions of authorship distributed among them, and the episodes in which they act on the texts in question are all "scenes of authorship," as I have described them. In my book, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China*, I examined a number of such scenes of authorship,

particularly those located in the Zuozhuan and other historical and philosophical texts, in which the poems of the *Shi Jing* are deployed (often against themselves and their surface meaning) as part of a rhetorical and political strategy, in ways which nonetheless reveal valuable information about how the *Songs* were understood in the eras in which these texts were produced. Here, I will not reproduce those arguments; rather, I will focus my attention on an issue I touched on only briefly and in a scattered way in that book, namely the scenes of authorship represented in and by the Mao Preface to the collection. I hope to thereby usefully supplement the account offered by *Authorship and Cultural Identity*, focusing largely on how the Mao Preface constructs an understanding of the *Shi Jing* as a geographical and historical catalogue of the Chinese past. I first offer a general survey of the structure of the collection as we know it, and of how the Mao Preface constitutes a reading of that structure and a scene of authorship for each section of the collection, omitting a discussion of the *Hymns*, both because their explicit ritual nature provides a very different kind of internal responsibility-function, and because I have discussed them at length in chapter 7 of my book. I argue, in particular, that the sequence of poems in the Mao edition of the *Airs of the States* helps to generate the interpretation-function of the individual poems. As I turn to the *Major* and *Minor Court Songs*, I argue that the Mao preface again generates its interpretation-function through the sequence of the poems, using the poems of these sections both to celebrate what it imagines to be the glories of the early Western Zhou, and then to fill in what was a rather lacunose period of Western Zhou history with the expected narrative of gradual decline, necessary in Ruist terms to account for the crises of the late ninth and early eighth centuries BC. Later, I examine in detail how the Mao Preface accounts for the nine poems in the collection which contain some sort of sphragis, or authorial signature; these exceptional poems provide something of a challenge for the Mao Preface (whose methods are inconvenienced by extraneous information concerning the origination-function of a poem). As a result, these poems are especially effective at laying bare the technique of the Mao Preface, and its determination to read the texts at its disposal in light of a predetermined historical narrative.

The Airs of the States

The first section of the *Canon of Songs* is the *Airs of the States*, a collection of some 160 relatively short poems, many of which are dominated by imagery of the natural and agricultural world, and which have frequently been interpreted in modern times as popular in origin. As noted above, the *Airs of the States* is divided in the Mao collection into fifteen sections based on a notional geography of the states into which China was divided during the Zhou dynasty. As I have already noted in *Authorship and Cultural Identity*, this geography is notional rather than real: there is no historical moment at which all fifteen states that are represented in the collection existed simultaneously, some states overlap in geography, and some may never have existed at all:[10]

[10] Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation*, 202–04.

State	Notes:
周南 **Zhounan**[11]	Understood, with the Shaonan below, as one of two divisions into which King Wen arranged the Zhou heartlands, awarding it to his son Dan 旦, who became the Duke of Zhou. After the Duke of Zhou succeeded in the final conquest of the Shang, he was awarded the state of Lu 魯, in modern Shandong.
召南 **Shaonan**	Understood, with the Zhaonan above, as one of two divisions into which King Wen arranged the Zhou heartlands, awarding it to his ally Ji Shi 姬奭, who became the Duke of Shao. After the final conquest of the Shang, he was awarded the state of Yan 燕, near modern Beijing.[12]
邶 **Bei**	Understood as an ancient division of Wei, see below. Virtually unknown in our sources, whether textual or archaeological.
鄘 **Yong**	As with Bei, above.
衛 **Wei**	A state granted to Kangshu Feng 康叔封, younger brother of King Wu, in the vicinity of the former Shang capital Anyang. [13]
王 **Wang**	The Royal Domains, traditionally here understood as referring not to the Western Zhou capitals, but to the Eastern Zhou capital at Luoyang, and thus from the Spring and Autumn period.
鄭 **Zheng**	Traditionally understood as a state established just west of Luoyang in 806 BC for a younger son of King Li. Recent archaeological work has suggested both that another lineage named Zheng had earlier occupied that site, and that the lineage which moved there in 806 BC had previously been located at the western end of the Wei valley, to the west of the Western Zhou capitals.[14]

[11] The *nan* of this "state" and that following literally means "south." Whether it is to be interpreted as such here, or whether *nan* here referred to a musical genre, possibly distinct from *feng*, or *Airs*, was already a subject of controversy in ancient times.

[12] See Li Feng, *Landscape and power in early China: the crisis and fall of the Western Zhou, 1045–771 BC*. Cambridge University Press, 2006: 336–37 for recent archaeological discoveries which confirm the establishment of the Zhou state of Yan at roughly the time suggested by the historical sources.

[13] For archaeological evidence for the founding of Wei, see Li Feng, *Landscape and power in early China: the crisis and fall of the Western Zhou, 1045–771 BC*, 67.

[14] See Li Feng, *Landscape and power in early China: the crisis and fall of the Western*

齊 **Qi**	A territory in modern Shandong traditionally awarded to Jiang Shangfu 姜尙父, an ally of King Wu and a member of a clan with marriage ties to the Zhou house.
魏 **Weì**	A state supposedly established in the Fen valley for a member of the Ji clan (the Zhou house); history records it only as having been absorbed by Qin in 660 BC.
唐 **Tang**	Another collection assigned to Qin; the name Tang refers to the state allegedly controlled by descendants of Yao.
秦 **Qin**	A state originally established (we are told) around 870 BC as a buffer-state against the Rong in the far west of the Wei valley, Qin shifted east to take over the former Zhou heartlands after the Zhou themselves moved west in 770 BC.
陳 **Chen**	A state traditionally established by King Wu for a descendant of Shun (allegedly working as a potter at Wu's court) in eastern Henan.
鄶 **Kuai**	An obscure state in Henan, allegedly held by the lineage of a minister of the Zhuanxu, a sage-ruler of remote antiquity; possibly associated with Zheng.
曹 **Cao**	A state in the west of Shandong, granted to a younger brother of King Wu. It fell to Song in 487 BC.
豳 **Bin**	A region in the Jing valley, northwest of the Western Zhou capitals. It had been the Zhou homeland during part of the pre-dynastic period.

It should be clear that this selection of states represented in the *Airs* does not reflect the synchronic network of states operative at any particular point. By tradition, the Airs of Qin were understood to reflect that state's position in the final years of the Western Zhou and in the early Spring and Autumn period, a dating also compatible with the association of the Airs of the Royal Domain (Wang) with the Eastern Zhou capital and the Airs of Zheng with that state as established in 806 BC. Bin, however, is a polity always associated with the pre-dynastic stage of the Zhou, while the Airs of Zhounan, Shaonan, Bei, Yong and Tang all seem to reflect if anything the political terminology of the early Western Zhou. There is thus no century, much less year, within which all the states represented in the *Airs of the States* might have co-existed.

Zhou, 1045–771 BC, 246–50.

There are also strikingly wide disparities in power and significance among the states. The Zuozhuan tells us of 26 states established by Kings Wen and Wu and by the Duke of Zhou; of these, only three (Weì, Cao and Jin) are directly represented in the *Airs of the States* (Zuozhuan Xi 24; *juan* 255b).[15] Of a fairly standard list of the 15 major states of the Spring and Autumn era, ostensibly the time of composition of most of the *Songs*,[16] only seven (Qi, Jin, Qin, Cao, Zheng, Chen, Wei) are represented in the *Airs*. To be sure, there are reasons as to why some of the remaining eight are excluded. Three (Chu 楚, Wu 吳 and Yue 越) are on the southern borders of the ethnically-Huaxia world, and are incompletely incorporated into that world until the sixth century BC, after the presumed closing of the canon of the *Songs*.[17] Lu and Yan, while not represented directly, are represented through genealogical metonymy; Lu through its connections to the Duke of Zhou (and thus to the Airs of Zhounan), and Yan through its associations with the Duke of Shao (and thus to the Airs of Shaonan); Lu is additionally represented in the *Songs* as a whole by the presence of the Lu Hymns in the *Hymns* section. The state of Song 宋, assigned to the descendants of the Shang to allow them to carry out ancestral sacrifices, is not represented in the *Airs*, but is represented by the Shang Hymns in the *Hymns* section. The reasons for the exclusion of Cai 蔡 and Xu 許 are more obscure.

When looked at from a geographic perspective, we find that the states that are represented provide at least a fairly broad degree of coverage of the two capital regions and of points east and west along the major river valleys. Four of the states (Wei, Tang, Qin and

[15] All references to the texts of the classics are to the *Chong kan Song ben Shisan jing zhushu fu jiaokan ji* 重刊宋本十三經注疏附校勘記 edition edited by Ruan Yuan 阮元.

[16] See Cho-yun Hsu, "Spring and Autumn period." In: *The Cambridge History of Ancient China : from the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* Ed. by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999: 545–86, here 547.

[17] For a discussion of the cultural integration of these states into the Huaxia sphere, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (Monumenta Archaeologica)*. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2006: 262–83. The state of Chu will, in due course, be connected to its own poetic anthology, the *Songs of the South*, *Chu ci* 楚辭, dating from roughly the fourth century BC forwards.

Bin) can be associated with the areas to the west of the old Western Zhou capitals near modern Xi'an. Two (Zhounan and Shaonan) relate to the area around the Western Zhou capitals, although in both cases there is a strong connection to areas much farther to the east; to the extent that the Airs of Qin reflect the Spring and Autumn period, they, too, can be connected to the Western Zhou capital regions. No fewer than five (Bei, Yong, Wei, the Royal Domains and Zheng) relate to the general area around Luoyang. Finally, four relate to areas east of Luoyang: Chen and Kuai to modern Henan, and Qi and Cao to modern Shandong. Viewed within the sequence of our text, the move is broadly from core to periphery, with the Western Zhou capital region first, then the Luoyang region, then a move east to Qi, then west to the Qin and those associated with it, then the relatively minor states of Chen, Kuai and Cao. The collection concludes with Bin, a move that brings us to the far west geographically, but, temporally, back to origins. The collection's movement is thus both geographic and chronological, as David Schaberg has noticed.[18] Within the geographic structure of representing the music of different regional polities, we find encoded a narrative of the rise and fall of the Zhou dynasty, with those states associated with the pre-dynastic and early Western Zhou understood as embodying the virtues of idealised rule, and those associated with later times representing decadence and decline. With the exception of the final section, the Airs of Bin, which, as noted, returns us to origins, the general movement of the collection thus mirrors the general movement of Western Zhou history as understood by the Ruist tradition, from triumphant foundation to decadence. This structure of historical decline is then reproduced within each of the state collections, which are read by the Mao preface.

As noted already, we cannot be certain as to when the exact division of the *Airs of the States* assumed its final form. The recovered Confucius' *Discussion of the Songs*, dating from the fourth century BC, does not seem to recognise this division, and for the most part, citations of the *Airs of the States* in the Zuozhuan (also, remember, likely from the fourth century BC) make no mention of the association

[18] David Schaberg, *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001: 89.

with particular poems with particular states; indeed, such citations frequently take place in a performance context of interstate negotiation in which fragments of the poem are deployed without regard for the sense of the poem as a whole, let alone any imagined originary compositional context. There is, however, one exception within the Zuozhuan, a tantalising and famous episode which narrates a performance of the entire *Canon of Songs*. Under the entry in the Chunqiu for the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Duke Xiang of Lu 魯襄公, which corresponds to the year 543 BC, we have a typically terse description of a diplomatic visit: 吳子使札來聘, "The viscount of Wu sent [Ji] Zha to come [to Lu] for a courtesy visit"(*juan* 664b). After offering a warning concerning the employment of suitable subordinates to the powerful Lu official Shusun Bao 叔孫豹, Prince Jizha demands to watch the music of Zhou (*qing guan yu Zhou yue* 請觀於周樂). The famous episode which ensues involves a complete performance of the *Songs*, with perceptive and appreciative comments from Jizha on each section.

The Jizha anecdote represents, I would argue, an intermediate stage in the process of textual crystallisation;[19] it divides the *Airs of the States* by state (unlike the Confucius' Discussion of the Odes or the remainder of the Zuozhuan), but the order of those states seems still to be fluid (in contrast to the Shuanggudui manuscript). There are strong similarities between the order of the states in the Jizha episode and in our Mao text; the relatively minor differences between them have been downplayed by some scholars,[20] while others observe the differences, but do not see them as significant.[21] I would argue that the differences serve to highlight the programmatic significance of the Mao sequence; more speculatively, I would

[19] I borrow this term from the Hellenist Gregory Nagy, who uses it to describe the parallel processes in which Homeric epic comes increasingly both to be embodied primarily in text rather than in performance, and to be fixed at finer and finer levels of detail. See Gregory Nagy, *Poetry as Performance: Homer and Beyond,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996: 108–10.

[20] Nylan, "Classics without canonization: learning and authority in Qin and Han", 78.

[21] Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1999: 155–6.

suggest that the Jizha sequence has its own significance as well, although here uncertainty about the origins of the episode render firm conclusions impossible. Here, then, are the orders in which the *Airs of the States* are presented in the Mao text, and in the performance Jizha witnesses in our Zuozhuan passage:

Mao text	Zuozhuan performance for Jizha
周南 Zhounan	周南 Zhounan
召南 Shaonan	召南 Shaonan
邶 Bei	邶 Bei
鄘 Yong	鄘 Yong
衛 Wei	衛 Wei
王 Wang	王 Wang
鄭 Zheng	鄭 Zheng
齊 Qi	齊 Qi
魏 Wei	豳 Bin
唐 Tang	秦 Qin
秦 Qin	魏 Wei
陳 Chen	唐 Tang
鄶 Kuai	陳 Chen
曹 Cao	"From Kuai on down," *Kuai yixia*, 鄶以下 NOT TO BE DISCUSSED
豳 Bin	

The Mao text matches the performance Jizha views for the first eight sections of the *Airs of the States*, from the *Zhounan* to the *Qi*. After that, this performance inserts the airs of *Bin*, the domain of the Zhou ancestors, which is at the end of our text of the *Airs*, followed by the state of Qin, which held the territory associated with Bin in both Jizha's time and in the fourth century. The Airs of Bin are also, significantly, ascribed to the Duke of Zhou (brother of King Wu and regent for King Cheng, and a key figure in the Ruist history of the Western Zhou state) in the Mao tradition. Then, follow the airs of Wei 魏 and Tang 唐, which metonymically represent the contemporary state of Jin; Tang is also claimed as the fief of the sage-emperor Yao. The final region on which Jizha passes comment is Chen, a state whose rulers claim descent from the sage-emperor Shun. At this point, Jizha remarks, "From the state of Kuai on down I will not give my critique," 自鄶以下・無譏焉. (*juan* 670a).

I will return to Jizha's reluctance to discuss further *Airs* in a moment. Before doing so, however, it should be noted that the chief distinction between the sequence of the states in the Jizha episode and that in our Mao text is the placement of the airs of Bin and Qin: the Mao text keeps these two separate, and places Bin at the end of the collection, while the performance seen by Jizha places these two states together in the collection, and at an earlier point in the sequence overall. Given that the Ruist tradition was prone to see the Qin (and especially its later manifestation as the first imperial dynasty to rule over China without regional states) as totalitarian and as an example to be avoided, I would argue that the Mao arrangement of the text is designed to obscure the connection between Qin and Bin, and thus the geographic link between the origins of the hated Qin empire and those of the revered Western Zhou. The sequencing of the collection thus links between the mythical narrative of early Chinese history that the Ruists wished to propagate, and the history of the recent past that they preferred to downplay.

A further feature of the Ruist tradition is the prominence it gives to the relatively minor regional state of Lu, important to Ruists both as the territory assigned to the Duke of Zhou, and as the birthplace of Confucius. The Spring and Autumn Annals are written from the perspective of Lu; the Zuozhuan, represented as a commentary on the *Annals*, is thus arranged so as to narrate the history of the early

Eastern Zhou from a comparatively minor and peripheral perspective. The position of Lu within the *Songs* is also marked; unlike the other regional states, it is represented, not in the *Airs*, but in the *Hymns* which close the collection, alongside the Hymns of Zhou (which celebrate the early history of the state as a whole) and the Hymns of Shang (which represent the defeated dynasty through its successor-state of Song). Within the *Airs*, Lu is represented metonymically by the Airs of Zhounan (through the association of both with the Duke of Zhou) which open the collection, and, arguably, through the Airs of Bin (through their connection to the predynastic era of the Zhou) which close the Mao version. If the sequence of the collection is designed to create meaning (and as we have seen this is fairly clearly the case), then the Mao collection's sequencing seems to frame the collection around the Duke of Zhou (and thus, by implication, around Lu), and to displace Qin and to thwart its own metonymic connections to the origins of the Western Zhou.

Of course, the Jizha episode is represented as taking place within the state of Lu, which would raise the question of why this episode arranges the *Airs* in a less Lu-centric way. To answer this question fully would require us to understand more than we currently do about the history of the Zuozhuan as a text, and about the origins of this anecdote in particular. Whatever the date given for the Zuo zhuan as a whole (and remembering the need to understand that text as a compilation or accretion of a variety of traditions of differing dates), there is a general consensus that the Jizha episode is itself even later. Michael Nylan, in his survey of *The "Confucian" Classics*, claims only that the Jizha episode is "later" than the bulk of the Zuo zhuan;[22] Wang He is likewise vague about when the anecdote emerged in its present form, but sees it as one of a series of Warring-States anecdotes about illustrious figures from the Spring and Autumn era, and (quite reasonably) doubts its reliability.[23] Yuri Pines, who accepts more generally than most the authenticity of speeches and accounts in the Zuo zhuan, argues that the (potentially) pro-Qin slant of the Jizha episode, along with the generally

[22] Nylan, *The Five "Confucian" Classics*, 78.

[23] Wang He 王和, "*Zuo zhuan* cailiao yuanlai kao" 左傳材料源來考, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 1993.2: 16–25.

didactic nature of the comments Jizha makes concerning the *Shi*, suggest a date near the end of the Warring States era, a date which finds support in much other scholarship.[24] As I have already suggested, the recent publication of Confucius' *Discussion of the Songs* shows that the didacticism of the Jizha episode was found as early as the early fourth century, suggesting the need to revisit Pines' dating, although not necessarily the sense of a pro-Qin bias, which would accord fairly well with my own reading of the anecdote. A. Taeko Brooks has, however, suggested that the operative bias of the passage is pro-Qi (noting the praise of the future of Qi offered by Jizha at the appropriate moment in the performance), and, on this basis and on the basis of her periodisation of the Zuo zhuan based on the role assigned to *tian* 天, claims that the Jizha passage was likely part of the final version of the Zuo zhuan compiled in Qi for the eyes of King Xuan of Qi (r. 319–301 BC), possibly in the years 315–14.[25] Clearly, it will be impossible to account fully for the programmatic significance of the sequence of the *Airs* in the Jizha episode; however, as my interpretation of the Mao sequencing above suggests, a pro-Qin bias on the part of the redactor of this episode would certainly account for the juxtaposition of Bin and Qin.

I would suggest that further evidence for the significance of the Jizha sequence of the *Airs* will be found in Jizha's announcement that he will offer no comment on the songs "from Kuai on down." Most simply, this could be understood as meaning that he will not comment on the music of the remaining states, due perhaps to their inferiority in political, musical and/or moral terms. There are, however, only two states with poems included in the Mao edition whose poems remain unsung: Kuai itself and Cao, which makes the description "from the state of Kuai on down" seem excessive. Furthermore, given that Jizha has already spoken in condemnatory terms of, among others, the music of Zheng, the most notorious of all the collections within the *Airs*, we must wonder what it is about the music of these states, responsible between them for just eight

[24] Yuri Pines, *Foundations of Confucian Thought: Intellectual Life in the Chunqiu Period, 722–453,* Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002: 225–6.

[25] Brooks, "Heaven, *Li*, and the Formation of the *Zuozhuan*", in: *Oriens Extremus* 2003/4 51–100, 77–79; 99.

poems in the Mao text, that demands Jizha's silence. Moreover, why should Jizha explicitly perform his refusal to discuss these two states? The combination of Jizha's highly marked refusal to comment and their placement at the end of the performed version of the *Airs* (displacing Bin in the process) places a bizarre sort of prominence on so insignificant an element of the collection.

A possible clue lies in the association of Chen (the last state on which Jizha comments) with the mythical sage-emperor Shun, taken together with his similar reticence at the close of the overall performance. After the four sections of our *Songs*, he views a performance of six dances (themselves sometimes associated with the *Hymns* in later readings)[26], which similarly end with a performance associated with Shun, in this case the *Shaoshuo* dance. In this case, Jizha says, "Here the viewing stops. If there is other music, I do not dare ask for it!" 觀止矣若有他樂吾不敢請已 (*Juan* 672b). In the performance of the *Guofeng* as much as in that of the dances, Jizha seems compelled to silence his commentary by the implicit connection of the last item in both performances with Shun; the backwards historical progression which both sets of performances imply, it seems, can go back no further. Where other readers have seen a forwards chronological drive in this performance, and a refusal to comment on minor and doomed states, I would like instead to suggest that Jizha's intervention in the performance has the effect of imposing a reverse chronological sequence on the *Guofeng*, from the present through the founding of the Zhou to the states associated with the royal houses of previous dynasties and sage-kings.

Jizha's comments on specific segments of the *Guofeng* draw further attention to this backwards historical movement, as in his discussion of the airs of Qin, which refers rather pointedly to Qin's occupation of the old Zhou heartlands:

為之歌秦曰此之謂夏夫能夏則大大至矣其周之舊乎

[26] For the association of some of the Hymns with the *Great King Wu* 大武 dance, see chapter seven of Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation*.

> They sang the Qin songs for him. He said, "We can call this Xia music.[27] Because Qin is cultivated, it is a great state. Its greatness extends to the old Zhou lands" (*juan* 669b).

Similarly, his comments on Tang make reference to Yao, reminding his audience in both cases that these two states have their own claims to cultural and historical prominence. His comments in general, rather than reading the *Airs* simply as a tour of contemporary China (which function it would but poorly serve in any event), or as a pageant of the highlights of Zhou history, seem instead to wilfully re-read the sequence of poems as presented in Lu as a backwards historical movement, towards the very distant past and the very greatest sage-kings – and, in the process, downplaying both the significance of the Duke of Zhou as the source of ritual and cultural practice, and Lu's connection with him and his era.

As with the dances at the end of the performance, Jizha seems, through his performative silences, to be suggesting here that, while music and dance can represent the virtues of the sage-kings Yao and Shun, it lacks the power to represent previous epochs. Alternatively or additionally, Jizha's voice may here be used to lend legitimacy to a particular position on just what happened in those earlier epochs. Those epochs were gradually populated by a proliferating array of ancestral figures, but the most prominent among them is the Yellow Emperor 黃帝 The figure of the Yellow Emperor seems in fact to be a creation of the fourth century, with the first attestation of his name on a bronze vessel dedicated by Duke Wei of Qi (r. 356–320 BC), whose grandfather Tian He, had overthrown the previous royal

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[27] I have left "Xia music" untranslated here to highlight the ambiguity between Xia as an ethnonym for the people of the Zhou world, and Xia as a loan-character for *ya* 雅, "refined, cultured," an equivalence we have seen already in the *Kongzi Shi Lun*'s use of *xia* rather than *ya* as the name of the *Court Songs*. As always, the point is in part that what is *Xia* is *ya*, and what is *ya* is *Xia*. The etymology of the term Xia itself is not entirely clear; for a review of the possibilities, see Wolfgang Behr "Xià: Etymologisches zur Herkunft des ältesten chinesischen Staatsnamens."In: *Asiatische Studien* 61.3 (2007): 727–54. Drawing on research in comparative Sino-Tibetan linguistics as well as on Behr argues that the two most likely etymologies would be "in full bloom" or "trader."

house in Qi in 386 BC.[28] The emergence of the Yellow Emperor as what I would call a "Panhuaxia"[29] figure thus corresponds roughly with the era in which the Jizha episode may well have taken shape. Jizha's repeated refusal to move backwards in history before Yao and Shun seems to suggest that the anecdote's author rejects the (for him) newfangled imposition of the Yellow Emperor onto the beginning of the history of the Huaxia, and, thereby, perhaps quietly reproving the Tian clan for their attempt to use the Yellow Emperor as a source of legitimation.

The emphasis Jizha places on sagely rule before the Zhou, and on the Qin's contemporary occupation of the Zhou heartlands, seems to supplant Lu's position as guardian of early Zhou tradition. From this perspective, it is not surprising that the Lu-centric Mao text of the *Songs* places the *Airs* in the order it does, culminating with Bin. By not following Bin with Qin, from which it is now separated by the states of Chen, Kuai and Cao, the Mao ordering avoids the move back to the early sage-kings, making the early Zhou (as represented by Bin, and by implication by the Duke of Zhou's fief of Lu) the climax of the collection, and thus in some way the *locus classicus* of Panhuaxia identity. Qin's position as the geographical inheritor of Bin is avoided in the Mao text, which leaves Bin on its own at the end of the *Airs*, separated by the obscure states of Kuai and Cao, and by others, from its natural geographic and chronological position. At the same time, the prominence of Bin's final position reinforces that (notional) state's special position within the narrative of Zhou history enacted in the *Songs*, and its presence acts, perhaps, as a surrogate for Lu itself, so conspicuously absent from the *Airs*.

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[28] For a discussion of these points, see Michael Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation: Debates Concerning Innovation and Artifice in Early China*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001: 112–3.

[29] I model the term on the term "Panhellenic" in the Greek tradition, used to refer to shared cultural traditions which united the politically fragmented Greek world, in much the same way that ritual and the Songs united the politically divided Zhou world, self-identified by the ethnonym Huaxia. See Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation*, 9n17.

These reflections on the exact sequencing of the *Airs* in the Jizha episode as compared to that in the Mao text are, and must necessarily remain, somewhat speculative. What is much clearer is that the general sequencing of the Mao text is quite clearly designed (again, with the exception of the closing of the collection with Bin) to construct a narrative of decline, both within the forward chronological sweep of each individual collection, and in the arrangement of the state collections within the *Airs* as a whole. This sequencing is generative of meaning, not only for the collection as a whole, but also for individual poems, and provided Ruist readers with a robust mechanism for interpreting the often obscure poems of the *Airs*. In so doing, the sequence fulfils not only the interpretation-function of authorship, by providing a ready-made context for understanding the poems, but also to some degree responsibility and origination functions as well, fixing the date and place of the supposed composition for each poem, as well as legitimating each poem in terms of an accepted historical narrative. That the arrangement of the poems dictates their interpretation, and not the other way around, is amply demonstrated in the many occasions in which the Mao preface for a poem seems directly at odds with the poem's content. One example here will suffice to indicate both the general character of many of the *Airs*, and the ways in which the authorship of the poems is constructed out of sequence within the anthology:[30]

The Pond Shore (*Songs* 145; *juan* 256b–257a)	澤陂
On the shores of this pond	
There are cattails and lotus plants.	彼澤之陂。有蒲與荷。
There is a beautiful person,[31]	有美一人。傷如之何。
What can I do?[32]	寤寐無爲。涕泗滂沱。

[30] For a fuller account of this poem see chapter five of Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation*.

[31] There is no way to unambiguously assign a gender to the person (or people) referred to in this line and the corresponding lines in the other stanzas.

[32] Following Wang Xiangqian in taking the Lu and Han readings, by which the 傷 in this line is (based on the *Erya*) equivalent to 予, which would function as a first person singular pronoun. If this reading is rejected, then the line will read, "I am hurt! What can I do?"

Awake and asleep I accomplish nothing,
The tears and snivel descend like rain.

On the shores of this pond
There are cattails and orchids.
There is a beautiful person,
Large and tall and handsome.
Awake and asleep, I accomplish nothing,
My innermost heart is fretful.

彼澤之陂。有蒲與蕑。
有美一人。碩大且卷。
寤寐無爲。中心悁悁。

On the shores of this pond
There are cattails and lotus blossoms.
There is a beautiful person,
Large and tall and impressive.
Awake and asleep I accomplish nothing,
Tossing and turning, with my face on the pillow.

彼澤之陂。有蒲菡萏。
有美一人。碩大且儼。
寤寐無爲。輾轉伏枕。

Clearly, there is little within this short poem to link it to any political or historical context. The content of the poem seems, at least on the surface, romantic and personal rather than public and political, and the general absence of personal or place names makes any necessary association with particular events impossible. The Mao tradition, convinced for ideological reasons that these poems were anthologised by Confucius for their politically didactic messages, is able to construct a meaning for the poem through its position within the collection. The poem is part of the Airs of Chen, near the end of the *Airs*, and is in particular the last poem of the Airs of Chen. As such, the Mao Preface predictably identifies the poem as occurring late in the history of Chen as recorded by the *Songs* (i.e. somewhere in the vicinity of 600 BC), and as representing a corrupt and depraved era. Since the content of the poem suggests erotic longing, the Mao Preface is inclined to connect the poem to inappropriate sexual behaviour on the part of the rulers of Chen at around this time; had the poem seemed positive in its outlook, the Mao Preface's would likely have read the poem as a sort of "indirect blame" poetry, discreetly critiquing the depravity of the era through praise of former times.

At this point, the interpretation of the poem becomes simply a function of finding an appropriate episode in the histories. Such an episode was conveniently at hand in the strange story of Duke Ling of Chen:

> Duke Ling of Chen, along with Kong Ning and Yi Hangfu (two of his ministers) all had relations with Xia Ji. They all wore pieces of her undergarments as their own, as a joke at court. Xie Ye reproached them, saying, "When the duke and ministers announce their licentiousness, the people have no educational influence from them. The reputation of this deed is not good, so please discard the garment, my lord." The duke replied, "I am able to improve." But he told the two ministers, and they asked permission to kill Xie Ye. The duke did not prevent them from doing so, and accordingly Xie Ye was murdered. Confucius said, "Where the Canon of Songs says, 'The people have much depravity, do not establish your own depravity,' this is what Xie Ye was saying."[33]
>
> 陳靈與孔寧儀行父通於夏姬，皆衷其服以戲於朝。泄冶諫曰：「公卿宣淫，民無效焉，且聞今君而效之，不可以訓。」公曰：「吾能改也。」二子請殺之，公弗禁。遂殺泄冶。孔子曰：詩云「民之多辟，無自立辟」其泄冶之謂乎。(Zuozhuan, Duke Xuan, Year 9 [599 BC], *juan* 380a–b)

The denouement of this episode, as it were, is found in the entry for the following year:

> Duke Ling of Chen, together with Kong Ning and Yi Hangfu, drank at the home of the Xia family. The duke said to Hangfu, "Zhengshu[34] resembles you!" Hangfu replied, "He also resembles your lordship!" Zhengshu took these remarks amiss. As the duke was exiting from the stable, Zhengshu shot him with his bow and killed him. The two officers fled to Chu.
>
> 陳靈與孔寧儀行父飲酒於夏氏。謂行父曰：「徵舒似女。」對曰：「亦似君侯。」徵舒病之。公出，自其廄射殺之。二子奔楚。(Zuozhuan, Duke Xuan, Year 10 [598 BC], *juan* 382a)

On this basis (and with the somewhat tenuous support of certain proper names in the previous poem),[35] the Mao Preface for The Pond Shore is able to provide a scene of authorship for the poem:

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[33] See below for a discussion of this quotation.

[34] The son of Xia Ji.

[35] Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation*, 182–84.

> The Pond Shore critiques its era. It tells that Duke Ling, his lords and ministers were sexually depraved in his state. Men and women found delight in one another, but it made them pensive and broken-hearted.
>
> 澤陂刺也言靈君淫於國男女相說憂思傷(*juan* 256a)

Certainly, the Mao Preface assesses the content of the poem fairly enough, but the connection to a specific historical event is an artefact of the sequence of poems within the collection, not of the content of this poem itself. Such examples, which could be multiplied considerably across the *Airs of the States*, provide the interpretation and authority functions that the Ruist tradition needed in order to convert the raw material of the collection (a group of poems largely on personal themes and drawing heavily on natural and agricultural imagery) into the finished produce they wish to see – a sort of narrative history of the decline of the Western Zhou in lyric form, registering both the virtuous and glorious early days of the dynasty, and its later and decadent phases.

Minor and Major Court Songs

The goals of the Mao Preface in seeking to create scenes of authorship for the *Minor* and *Major Court Songs* are essentially the same as the goals of the Mao Prefaces to the *Airs of the States*: a representation of the gradual decline of the Western Zhou, designed as a moral and political lesson for future readers. The poems of these sections presented quite distinct opportunities and challenges for such readings. Where the *Airs of the States* generally avoid political content and even personal names, the *Court Songs* are mostly longer narrative poems, many of which make reference to known historical events, some even gesturing towards the poet's own identity. These facts about the *Court Songs* rendered their political allegorisation a much simpler task, with, however, the added difficulty that not all of the poems in question expressed an appropriate attitude about the events they describe. A clear example here is found with the poem Gathering Thornferns (*Caiwei*) 采薇 (*Song* 167; *juan* 334b), the seventh of the 74 poems in the *Minor Court Songs*. The poem as a whole recounts Western Zhou campaigns against the Xianyun

people of the northern frontier, probably in the ninth century BC.[36] The poem emphasises the difficulties and fears of the campaign, very much at the expense of any expression of enthusiasm for battle or hope of victory, as a quotation of the fourth stanza will reveal:

Now, as we return, the snow falls abundantly.	今我來思・雨雪霏霏・
Our road is long and slow, there is thirst and hunger.	行道遲遲・載渴載飢・
Our hearts are pained and sad, and no one understands our sorrow.	我心傷悲・莫知我哀・

In spite of the pessimism and hopelessness of this passage (consistent with the tone of the whole poem), the Mao Preface treats this poem along with the two following, as representing a much more positive view of war:

> Gathering Thornferns is about sentry-duty guarding barbarians on the frontier. In the time of King Wen, there was suffering from the Kunyi people to the west and difficulties with the Xianyun to the north. By the command of the Son of Heaven, a general was ordered to guard against the barbarians on the frontier, in order to protect the Central States. Gathering Thornferns was sung to send the troops off, *Sending Out the Carriages* to reward their return, and *The Lone Crab-Apple Tree* to salute their return.
>
> 采薇·遣戍也·文王之時·西有昆夷之患·北有玁狁之難·以天子之命·命將率·遣戍·以守中國·故歌采薇以遣之・出車以勞還・杕杜以勤歸也・ (*juan* 331b).

The positioning of this poem early in the *Minor Court Songs* requires that it be connected to the reign of King Wen at the beginning of the Western Zhou, rather than during the era of decline of the late ninth century. The logic of this positioning then requires that the poem be viewed as a sort of marching-song for soldiers heading out into battle, an interpretation clearly at odds with the poem's content. The forced quality of this reading suggests strongly that the ordering of the poems within the collection was undertaken prior to the authorship of the Mao Preface, and with quite different (if unknown) objectives in mind, since clearly the ideology of the Mao

[36] For the general context of the campaigns against the Xianyun, see Li Feng, *Landscape and power in Early China: the Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045–771 BC*, 141–92.

Preface would be better served by a later placement of the poem, one which could acknowledge its negative tone as an index to a difficult era. The Mao tradition seems, in other words, to have been stuck with an inherited sequence for the *Minor Court Songs*, one which did not always suit their agenda.

Beyond simply reading poems against themselves, the Mao Preface found a more ingenious way to reconcile the sequence of the *Minor Court Songs* with the historical narrative of decline they associated (with cause) with the Western Zhou. In a long note appended to the preface for poem 177, *The Sixth Month*, we are told that the sequence of the *Minor Court Songs* up to that point has been a narrative, not of the events that led to the decline of the dynasty, but rather of the forgetting of the values represented in the songs themselves:

> *The Sixth Month* represents King Xuan's northern campaign. When *Deer Cry* declined, then harmony and joy ceased to be. When *Four Steeds* declined, then lord and minister ceased to be. When *So Bright the Flowers* declined, then trust and loyalty ceased to be. When *The Cherry Tree* declined, then elder and younger brothers ceased to be. When *Chopping Trees* declined, then friendship ceased to be. When *Heaven Protects* declined, then wealth and good fortune ceased to be. When *Gathering Thornferns* declined, then punitive campaigns ceased to be. When *Bringing Out the Carriages* declined, then work and service ceased to be. When *The Lone Red Crabapple* declined, then vast armies ceased to be. When *The Fish Leap* declined, then law and order ceased to be. When *The Southern Slope*[37] declined, then filial friendship ceased to be. When *The White Flower* declined, then frank modesty ceased to be. When *White Millet in Bloom* declined, then the stockpiling of food declined. When the *You Geng* declined, then *yin* and *yang* lost their ordering principles. When *In the South there are Barbel Fish* declined, then worthy men were not at rest, and lesser men found not their place. When *Respecting the Teachings* declined, then the myriad things were not in order. When *On the Southern Mountain there is Sedge* declined, then the foundations of the state went with it. When the *You Yi* declined, then the myriad things lost their ordering principles. When

[37] This poem, along with *The White Flower*, *You Geng, Respecting the Teachings,* and *You Yi*, are all "lost poems," titles preserved in the Mao text of the *Songs* without accompanying text. A useful index of the robustness of the Mao interpretive framework is that the absence of the actual poem itself proved to be no barrier to its interpretation.

> *Artemisia* declined, then royal favor was perverted. When *Heavy The Dew* declined, then the myriad states separated. When *The Scarlet Bow* declined, then all the Xia states collapsed. When *Abundant is the Cowherb* ceased, then there was no ritual or propriety. When the *Minor Court Songs* had completely ceased, then the foreign tribes of the four directions jointly invaded, and the Middle Kingdom became smaller.

> 六月宣王伐也. 鹿鳴廢則和樂缺矣. 四牡廢則君臣缺矣. 皇皇者華廢則[illegible]缺矣. 常棣廢則兄弟缺矣. 伐木廢則朋友缺矣. 天保廢則福祿缺矣. 采薇廢則征伐缺矣. 出車廢則功力缺矣. 杕杜廢則師眾缺矣. 魚麗廢則法度缺矣. 南陔廢則孝友缺矣. 白華廢則廉恥缺矣. 華黍廢則[illegible]缺矣. 由庚廢則陰陽失其道理矣. 南有嘉魚廢則賢者不安下不得其所矣. 崇丘廢則[illegible]矣. 南山有臺廢則國之基傾矣. 由儀廢則萬物失其道矣. 蓼蕭廢則恩澤乖矣. 湛露廢則[illegible]矣. 彤弓廢則諸夏衰矣. 菁菁者莪廢則無禮儀矣. 小雅盡廢則四夷交侵中國微矣. (*juan* 357a)

The narrative of decline which the preface to *The Sixth Month* attributes to the era of that poem's composition contrasts sharply with the laudatory and celebratory tones of the prefaces to those poems themselves:

> *The Deer Cry* feasts loyal officials and worthy guests. In addition to offering them food and drink, the ruler also gifts them with wealth and silks, square and round baskets, in order to confer his generosity, so that loyal officials and worthy guests would exhaust themselves for his wishes.
>
> *The Four Steeds* honors the arrival of officials from missions. To do well and be recognized for it makes one happy.
>
> *So Bright the Flowers* is for a lord sending an official on a mission. He is sent off with rites and music, and it says that at a distance he may achieve glory.
>
> *The Cherry Tree* is for the feasting of brothers. There was pity for Guan and Cai losing their Way, and thus *The Cherry Tree* was made.
>
> *Chopping Trees* is for the feasting of friends and those of long acquaintance. From the Son of Heaven down to the common man, there is none who does not need friends for their completion. When intimates are kept close, worthy men are befriended and not abandoned, and those of long acquaintance are not forgotten, then the virtue of the people is repaid with generosity.
>
> *Heaven Protects* has the low repay the high. When the lord can treat his lessers as lesser to perfect his rule, then the officials can use praise to repay those above them.

Gathering Thornferns is about sentry-duty guarding barbarians on the frontier. In the time of King Wen, there was suffering from the Kunyi people to the west and difficulties with the Xianyun to the north. By the command of the Son of Heaven, a general and troops were ordered to guard the barbarians on the frontier, in order to protect the Central States. Gathering Thornferns was sung to send the troops off, *Sending Out the Carriages* to reward their return, and *The Lone Crab-Apple Tree* to salute their return.

Sending Out the Carriages glorifies the officers on their return.

The Lone Crab-Apple Tree glorifies the men on their return.

The Fish Leap praises that the abundance of the myriad things makes it possible to prepare the rites. Kings Wen and Wu used the poems from *Heaven Protects* and above to regulate internal matters, and those from Gathering Thornferns onwards to regulate external matters. Things began with pensiveness and labor, and ended with leisure and happiness. Thus the praise of the abundance of the myriad things, through which one may inform the spirits.

In *The Southern Slope* loyal sons warn each other about the nurturing of parents.

The White Flower expresses the pure simplicity of loyal sons.

White Millet in Bloom is a peaceful season and abundant harvest, right for white millet and foxtail millet.

The *You Geng* expresses that the myriad things are able to follow their Way.

In the South there are Barbel Fishes rejoices with worthy men. In a time of peace the Son of Heaven exerts his sincerity to share his joy with worthy men.

In *Respecting the Teachings*, the myriad things achieve their utmost magnitude.

On the Southern Mountain there is Sedge rejoices in finding worthy men. When one finds worthy men, states and houses can form the basis of a great peace.

You Yi is the birth of the myriad things and their attainment of their rightful places. We have the meaning, but not the words.

Artemisia shows royal favour extending to the four seas.

In *Heavy the Dew*, the Son of Heaven feasts the assembled lords.

In *The Scarlet Bow*, the Son of Heaven bestows [the bow] on assembled lords who have attained results.

Abundant is the Cow-herb rejoices at the formation of talented men. When the superior man can form and nurture talented men, then all under heaven rejoice and are happy.

The Sixth Month represents King Xuan's northern campaign....

鹿鳴燕群臣也飲食之又實幣筐以將其意然後嘉賓得盡其歡(*juan* 315a)

四牡・勞使臣之來也・有功而見知則說矣・(*juan* 317a)

皇皇華君遣使臣送之禮樂言諏有道也(*juan* 318b)

常棣燕兄弟也兄弟之道以燕樂(*juan* 320a)

伐木・燕朋友舊也・自天子至於庶人・未有務其友而成者・親親睦友・友賢不棄・不遺舊・則民德歸厚矣・(*juan* 327a)

天保・下報上也・君能下以成其政・臣能歸美以報其上焉・(*juan* 330a)

采薇・遣戍也・文王時・西有昆夷之患・北有玁狁之難・以天子之命・命將率・遣戍・以守四國・故歌采薇以遣之・出車以勞還・杕杜以勤歸也・(*juan* 331b)

出車・勞還率也・(*juan* 338a)

杕杜・勞還役也・(*juan* 340a)

魚麗・美萬物盛多有節也・文武承平以治內・采薇以治外・婚姻動綏以樂賢才盛多・可以告神矣・(*juan*341a)

南陔孝子相戒以養也(*juan* 342b)

白華孝子之絜白也 (*juan* 342b)

華黍時和歲豐宜黍稷也・(*juan* 342b)

由庚萬物得其道也(*juan* 347b)

南有嘉魚樂賢也・太平君子誠樂賢者也(*juan* 346a)

崇丘萬物種類也(*juan* 347b)

南山有臺・樂聖賢也・得賢則能爲邦家立太平之基矣・(*juan* 347a)

由儀萬物生各得其宜也有儀可象(*juan* 347b)

蓼蕭・澤及四海也・(*juan* 348a)

湛露・天子燕諸侯也・(*juan* 350a)

彤弓・天子錫有功諸侯也・(*juan* 351b)

菁菁莪樂育材也君能長育材則天喜樂矣(*juan* 353a)

六月·宣王北伐也 (*juan* 357a)

As this excerpt ends, we move into the extended account of the decline of the Western Zhou in the preface to *The Sixth Month* that formed the previous quotation. The Mao Preface thus makes double use of these poems. On a synchronic level, and taking the prefaces to the poems individually, they offer the basic principles of Ruist ethics and political philosophy – friendship, filiality between father and son, the loyalty of the minister to the ruler (and, important for a philosophy whose chief proponents were themselves ministers, the generosity of the ruler to the minister). At the same time, and reading the prefaces as a continuous narrative, we see in the acquisition and loss of these values a narrative of the rise and fall of a dynasty. The initial set of poems becomes a symbolic representation of the ritual propriety of Kings Wen and Wu, founders of Zhou dynastic rule and culture-heroes of Ruism. The role played by the later poems is more complex: on the one hand, they celebrate precisely the same virtues as the earlier poems, and yet, as the preface to *The Sixth Month* suggests, they are from an era that represents precisely the lack of these virtues, a lack whose direct consequence is the invasion of the Zhou state by northern tribes in the reign of King Xuan (r. 828–782 BC).

This leads to some awkwardness: as already noted, *Gathering Thornferns* more likely represents the reign of King Xuan than that of King Wen (and its content likewise seems better suited to a doomed campaign than to a victorious one), while the juxtaposition of *Abundant is the Cow-herb*, with its celebration of the ruler's nurturing and employment of worthy men, with the northern attack alluded to in *The Sixth Month*, is at the very least jarring. Certainly, the trope of indirect blame plays a role here, although, in this case, it is a role that is not acknowledged by the Preface itself; in the logic of the Mao tradition, praise of a ruler for employing the right man can just as easily become an indirect critique of the present ruler for failing to do so. At the same time, it is possible that here again the sequence of the poems as transmitted to the Mao preface-writer(s), perhaps seen as unchangeable by him, generates an interpretation whose incompatibility with the text at hand requires yet more wheels within interpretive wheels to reconcile.

The actual history of the Western Zhou (as transmitted to us, for example, in the Bamboo Annals)[38] suggests that King Xuan was successful in managing the crises, domestic and foreign, that plagued the early years of his reign. The Mao Preface concurred with this assessment:

> *Strong Chariots* shows King Xuan restoring former ways. King Xuan was able to cultivate matters of administration at home, and resist the Yi and Di peoples abroad. He restored the frontiers of Kings Wen and Wu, repaired chariots and horses, made ready engines of war, gathered again the various nobles in the eastern capital, and sent them out hunting, that he might select chariots and infantry from among them.
>
> 車攻宣王復古也. 宣王能內修政事, 外攘夷狄, 復文武之境土, 脩車馬, 備器械, 復會諸侯東都, 因田獵而選車徒焉. (*juan* 366a)

By the end of Xuan's reign, however, trouble seems to have returned, and the much briefer reign of his successor, King You 幽王 (r. 781–771 BC), ended in disaster, in an attack by rebel nobles and the Quanrong 犬戎 people, an attack which left You dead and the capital in ruins. This led in turn to the transfer of the capital of Zhou to the east, to the site of Luoyang 洛陽 on the middle Yellow River and safely removed from the immediate sphere of the northern and western tribes. This move, a significant rupture in Zhou history, is the cause of the division of Zhou rule into the Western Zhou (i.e. pre-771) and the Eastern Zhou (post-771). Although the Western Zhou was not a centralised state, it was at least an arena in which the centre held a significant monopoly on power. The Eastern Zhou, by contrast, was not even a *primus inter pares*, recognised only as the symbolic seat of authority while real power resided in the regional states; after the defeat of Zhou by Zheng in 707 BC, even the pretence of royal power was gone, though the state itself would not be extinguished until 256 BC.

These turns of events are central to the narrative of authorship the Mao preface constructs for the *Songs*. While the Mao Preface links the *Airs of the States* to episodes in both the Western and the

[38] For an English translation of this text, see James Legge, *The Shoo King, or, The Book of Historical Documents*, Hongkong: J. Legge, 1865: 108–76. See below for bibliography on the authenticity of this document.

Eastern Zhou (according, as we have seen, to the somewhat artificial structure of the collection), the *Minor* and *Major Court Songs* are both limited to the Western Zhou. The narratives of both collections of Court Songs show other similarities as well, as a brief comparison will show:

Minor Court Songs:

Songs	Ruler
161–70	Kings Wen and Wu
171–76	Praise of good rulers; by implication Wen and Wu
177–90	King Xuan
191–97; 200–234	King You
198	King Li 厲 (r. est. 857–842)
199	Undated conflict between Dukes of Bao and Su

Major Court Songs:

Songs	Ruler
235–42	King Wen
243–44	King Wu
245–48	Praise of House of Zhou
249–252	King Cheng 成 (trad. r. 1042–21 BC)
253–257	King Li
258–63	King Xuan
264–65	King You

The picture of Zhou history offered by the Mao Preface to the *Major Court Songs* is slightly richer than that offered by the preface to the *Minor Court Songs*, but not by much. The prefaces to both sections place an extreme emphasis on Kings Wen and Wu, the symbolic founders of the dynasty, and on the virtue of the dynasty in their time; the preface to the *Major Court Songs* additionally gives some attention to Wu's son and successor, King Cheng, said to have succeeded to the throne as a minor, and to have been guided by none other than the Duke of Zhou as regent. The history recounted by the Preface then breaks off, to be resumed in the reign of King Li, always

represented as brutal and corrupt, and as the cause of the temporary disruption of the dynasty by the so-called Gonghe Regency (841–28 BC), now increasingly understood as an aristocratic usurpation of kingly power that adumbrated the collapse of the Western Zhou some 70 years later.[39] The history the Preface offers continues with Xuan and You, and then comes to an end with the move to the Eastern Capital in 771. The two hundred years between Cheng and Li are not discussed in this section of the preface at all, although the preface for the *Airs of the States* does contain passing references to regional rulers said to date from this period, usually in fairly stereotypical roles as idealised paragons of virtue or as bywords for depravity and corruption.

There seem to be strong historiographic reasons for this silence. Already in the second century BC, the great historian Sima Qian believed the start of the Gonghe Regency to represent the first reliably datable event in Chinese history, and to this day attempts at reconstructing the chronology of the earlier Western Zhou remain controversial.[40] The so-called "Modern Text" edition of the Bamboo Annals, itself no stranger to controversy,[41] offers information on the rulers of the Zhou prior to the Gonghe Regency, but its information for this period is sketchy, offering little more than occasional references to wars and diplomatic and ritual missions, as well as minor portents such as thunderstorms and the startling of hares and pheasants. What little detail there is in the Bamboo Annals seems to have found its way into the Mao Preface: the reference to the execu-

[39] Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: the Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045–771 BC*, 105–7.

[40] For a recent Chinese attempt to fix this chronology, see Li Xueqin, "The Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project: Methodology and Results," in: *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4, no. 1 (2002): 321–33. For one critique, see David S. Nivison, "The Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project: Two Approaches to Dating," in: *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4, no. 1 (January 2002): 359–66. See also Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels*, University of California Press, 1992: 317–87 for another chronology, more widely accepted among Western sinologists.

[41] For a recent summary of the discussion, from a scholar who uses archaeological evidence to argue strongly for the usefulness (with caution) of the Modern Text Bamboo Annals, see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, 13n29.

tion by boiling alive of Duke Ai of Qi 齊哀公 in the reign of King Yi 夷 (trad. date 860–852 BC), for example, seems likely to underlie the Mao Preface's association of the first five of the Airs of Qi with critique of Duke Ai, a critique understood as taking the form of indirect blame as a result of their rather innocuous content. The era of Wen and Wu (and even of Cheng) is the charter-myth of the Zhou dynasty, especially as understood by the Ruists; association of optimistic poems located near the beginning of the collection with these rulers was, therefore, a natural choice for the Mao Preface. The two centuries following the reign of King Cheng are a fallow period for Ruist mythography; the internal logic of Ruist narrative suggests a gradual decline, leading towards the crisis of the late ninth and early eighth centuries BC, although texts such as the Bamboo Annals offer few concrete events around which to build this narrative. The Preface to *The Sixth Month* can thus be understood as a clever strategic move; the progressive forgetting of Ruist values implied by that Preface has the effect of a narrative of decline, but evades any attempt to fix the points of that decline to a clear chronology.

Once we come to the reigns of Kings Li, Xuan, and You, we move noticeably away from the *spatium mythicum* of the early Western Zhou, towards a *spatium historicum*, with a secure chronology and an increasingly detailed historical narrative. It is probably not accidental that it is also at this point that we encounter the first poems with authorial sphragis, that is, an explicit and programmatic statement of authorship within the text of the poem itself. It is worthwhile examining the language with which this is done in detail:

162: 是用作歌。(*juan* 318a)
"This is why I made this song"
191: 家父作誦。 (*juan* 396b)
"Jiafu made this poem"
199: 作此好歌。 (*juan* 427b)
"I made this good song"
200: 寺人孟子、作為此詩。(*juan* 429b)
"The eldest Eunuch made these verses."
204: 君子作歌 維以告哀(*juan* 443b–444a)
"The superior man made this song, in order to announce his sorrow."
252: 矢詩不多、維以遂歌。(*juan* 630a)
"The verses I offer are short, in order to extend your song."
257: 雖曰匪予、既作爾歌。(*juan* 658b)

> "Although you say it was not you, I make this song."
> 259: 吉甫作誦、其詩孔碩、其風肆好、以贈申伯。(*juan* 673b)
> "Jifu makes this poem, its verses great and many, their influence good, to present to the Lord of Shen."
> 260: 吉甫作誦、穆如清風。仲山甫永懷、以慰其心。(*juan* 677a)
> "Jifu makes this poem, calm as a gentle wind. May Zhongshan Fu ever hold it dear to console his mind."

A few general observations about the language of these authorial sphragides, five from the *Minor Court Songs* and five from the *Major Court* Songs, are in order. Of the nine sphragides in poems in our possession, eight make use of the verb *zuo* 作 to describe the act of composition (the ninth, poem 252, does not employ a verb in its formulation of the sphragis). This use of *zuo* is paralleled in the Mao prefaces to the poems, where no fewer than 46 out of the 47 uses of *zuo* take a poem or poems as their object. The word preferred in texts such as the Zuozhuan, a historical text from the fourth century BC (and thus earlier than the Mao prefaces) is instead *fu* 賦, a word which, as I have shown elsewhere, carries with it the possibility of referring either to composition or to performance.[42] By contrast, the term *fu* is almost never found in the *Songs*, or even in the Mao Prefaces to the *Songs*, with only one example of the former (in the earlier sense of *fu* as "to broadcast, make public" in poem 260), and three of the latter (one of which, in the preface to poem 209, uses another early sense of *fu* connected to taxation). Where *fu* is ambiguous between composition and performance, the nuances of *zuo* incline much more straightforwardly towards composition. This is hardly surprising; the Zuozhuan includes many scenes in which one or more of the *Songs* is re-performed in a new context, gaining a new meaning from its surroundings; the Mao prefaces, by contrast, represent a different interpretive layer, in which the meaning of the poems has been indexicalised, and a single fixed scene of authorship is increasingly viewed as desirable. The various author-functions

[42] Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation*, 52–6. Some uses of the term in the *Zuozhuan* must clearly refer to composition; others, equally clearly, to performance. Over time, as I also show, the expression *fu shi* 賦詩 shifts towards an exclusive emphasis on performance.

become streamlined, and attached to fewer individuals and contexts.

Even here, however, the conversion to a compositionally-based notion of authorship is incomplete. Tellingly, only 46 of the 305 prefaces include the verb *zuo*, indicating a fixing of the scene of composition; with most of the remainder of the poems, some more general compositional context is suggested in the prefaces without identifying the specifics of place, time or person. If the Mao prefaces indicate a new-found interest in fixing compositional authorship, they nonetheless represent only a partial development of this interest. For the most part, that interest remains undeveloped throughout the tradition; indeed, later scholars (such as the Neo-Confucianist Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200)) tended if anything to reject such specifications of compositional context as the Mao tradition did provide, reverting to a more fluid notion of popular authorship.

Equally significant is the choice of words used for "poem" or "song." Three different terms are used at different points in the corpus: *ge* 歌, which I have translated above as "song," *song* 誦, which I have translated as "poem," and *shi* 詩, which I have translated as "verses." These translations are, of course, not precise, and are intended mostly to reflect the tripartite distinction found in the original. My choices are not, however, entirely arbitrary; *ge* retains throughout its history the primary sense of something sung, while *shi* will gradually come to be the unmarked term for poetry (not necessarily sung), and *song* 誦 shifts towards the modern meaning of recitation. Although the corpus itself is eventually known as the *Shi* 詩(which I translate elsewhere as the *Songs*, in order to preserve the oral and performed aspect of these pieces), the term *shi* is in fact rarely found in the collection, being used only twice, in the *sphragis* to poems 200 and 259. It also occurs no fewer than 49 times in the Mao prefaces, which is indicative of the role of *shi* as the default term to refer both to the corpus as a whole and to the individual works within it.

Within the corpus itself, *song* 誦 is only slightly more common than *shi*, being found four times, including the three uses in the sphragis to poems 191, 259 and 260 and one use in the main body of poem 209. The most common word used within the *Songs* to refer to their own and other poetic activity is in fact *ge*, found in the sphra-

gis to poems 162, 199, 204, 252 and 257, and in other contexts in nine other poems. In other words, the unmarked term for poetry within the corpus seems to be *ge*, also the term most strongly linked to performance; in the sphragis, always a moment of heightened self-reference, the more textually-oriented terms *song* and *shi* assume a disproportionate prominence.

Having analysed the verbs used to characterise the act of composition and the nouns used for its object we should now turn our attention to the subjects of these acts of composition; that is, to the poets imputed for each of these poems. Here the most striking fact is probably that, out of the nine sphragis, fully four (those for poems 162, 199, 252, and 257) contain no expressed subject whatsoever. Of these four, poems 162, 252 and 257 altogether lack proper nouns of any description at any point in the poem; although the sphragis for each suggests some clear sense of the occasionality of the song, its text provides us with little or no context through which to fix that occasion. Even the Mao prefaces, usually keen to fix compositional context and to read the most uncompromisingly generic text as a veiled reference to a specific incident, fails to suggest any context for poem 162. This poem is then something of an exception which proves the rule for our theory that self-referential authorship is associated with the late Western Zhou; although linked by the Mao Preface with the early Western Zhou, this poem has a sphragis so oblique as to barely merit the name. With 252 and 257, the Mao prefaces do argue for specific compositional contexts, both using the characteristic Mao move of identifying an otherwise obscure poem as a form of admonition of a wayward monarch. The Mao prefaces read poem 252 as referring to the remonstration of King Cheng, and poem 257 to an episode, frequently attested in later sources, in which the Lord of Rui (*Rui Bo* 芮伯or *Rui Langfu* 芮良夫) scolded King Li 周厲王for his decision to appoint Duke Yi of Rong 榮夷公 to office, a decision which the later historiography sees as having been disastrous for King Li, and having contributed to his overthrow in 841 BC.

For poem 199, the Mao preface suggests a still more obscure compositional context, claiming that the poem was written by the Duke of Su 蘇 as a reproach to the Duke of Bao 暴specifically to reproach the Duke of Bao, said to be a royal minister, for his slander of an unspecified king. According to the subcommentary on the preface,

both states were in the capital region; archaeological evidence further attests to the existence of Su.[43] The episode is otherwise obscure, and there is no reference to a Duke of Bao in the classics or in the *Shi Ji*. Since the name Bao is, however, referenced unfavourably in the first stanza of poem 199, it seems more likely that the Mao preface constructed a generic scene of authorship to suit the text, rather than drawing on some independent source. The placement of the poem, in the midst of other poems connected to the reign of King You, suggests that the authors of the Mao prefaces connected this poem with that ruler as well.

Of the remaining five poems, two identify their authors by labels scarcely more revealing than that of the utter anonymity of the four poems above. Poem 204, at the extreme, identifies its author as a junzi 君子. The term is a slippery one, shifting gradually from its original meaning of "lord's son"[44] towards its eventual destiny as a Ruist paradigm of the educated and humane individual;[45] at every stage in its evolution, however, it identifies a position within a network of social relations, rather than acting as a proper name uniquely referring to a specific individual; the term's ability to absorb much of the author-function is thereby limited. Even the Mao preface to the poem seems to recognise the extremely generic character of this label here, localising the poem within the reign of King You 幽王 (c. 795–771 BC), but not seeking further to specify the poem's context. Poem 200 is "signed" by the Eldest Eunuch (or, alternatively, "the eunuch Mengzi") 寺人孟子, a slightly more indexicalised[46] label which might indicate a specific individual at any mo-

[43] Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, 119.

[44] On the early history of the term, see Robert H. Gassmann, "Die Bezeichnung *jun-zi*. Ansätze zur Chun-qiu-zeitlichen Kontextualisierung und zur Bedeutungsbestimmung im *Lun Yu*," in: Marc Hermann, Christian Schwermann (eds.), *Zurück zur Freude. Studien zur chinesischen Literatur und Lebenswelt und ihrer Rezeption in Ost und West. Festschrift für Wolfgang Kubin.* Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 57, Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2007: 411–36.

[45] For more on the history of the concept, see e.g. Erica Brindley, ""Why Use an Ox-Cleaver to Carve a Chicken?" The Sociology of the Junzi Ideal in the Lunyu," in: *Philosophy East and West* 59, no. 1 (2009): 47–70.

[46] I draw this term from the work of the anthropologist Joel Kuipers, who uses it to describe the process by which a naming system which had previously centred on

ment, but which in fact indicates a social role that can be filled by different individuals at different times; the name thus still participates more in the realm of address than of reference. Again, the Mao preface seeks to tie the poem to the reign of King You, but does not further specify the author or context. Both poems clearly represent the complaint of some individual slighted by the ruler; it is unclear whether the Mao Preface's association of these poems with King You is a result of some now-lost textual transmission, or simply the product of the suitability of King You for such a role.

Moving further along the continuum between names as address and names as reference, the sphragis to poem 191 is signed by Jiafu 家父. The name literally means "the father of the household," certainly a clear enough case as name-as-address; however, the content of the poem itself does provide further context, repeatedly referring to an addressee, addressed by rank as "Marshal and Chief," (*Shuaiyin* 師尹), further expanded to (*Shuai shi taishi* 尹氏太師) at one point in the poem. Archaeological evidence, together with the Bamboo Annals, combine to suggest plausible individuals for each of these roles: according to Li Feng, Jiafu is probably the same as the Jiabo 家伯 ("Elder of the House") identified as "Superintendent of the Royal Household"(*zai* 宰) in poem 193, and the "Marshal and Chief" is likely Huangfu 皇父, the Chief Minister of King You (and a leading officer in the regime of You's father, Xuan).[47] Li argues that the Jiafu of poem 191 is thus arguing on behalf of Huangfu, and part of a faction of court possibly associated with an "old guard" resistant to the new King You; by this argument, the Mao preface is generally correct in suggesting that the poem attacks You, although the subcommentary would then wrongly identify Jiafu and Huangfu as of op-

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what he calls a function of address (of identifying a position within a network of social relations, rather than an individual), moves to a system of reference, where names pick out specific individuals. See Joel C. Kuipers, *Language, Identity, and Marginality in Indonesia: The Changing Nature of Ritual Speech on the Island of Sumba*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998: 96. For more on the usefulness of this concept for the study of the *Canon of Songs*, see Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation* :172.

[47] Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: the Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045–771 BC*, 210–12.

posing parties. Despite that potential error (and remembering that the subcommentary represents a much later interpretation of the commentary), there does seem to be reason to think that here in particular the Mao Preface may be drawing on an authentic tradition of authorship, one tied to the dismissal of Huangfu from court in around 775–4 BC.[48]

Poems 259 and 260 are the poems closest to the referential end of the naming continuum, and thus the poems closest to having a named and identifiable author; both are signed by a Jifu 吉甫 Li Feng has persuasively argued that the Jifu (also 吉甫) mentioned in *The Sixth Month* (*Song* 177) as a brave warrior (文武吉甫) is probably the Xi Jia 兮甲 or Xibo Jiafu 兮伯家父 who is responsible for casting the so-called Xi Jia *pan* 兮甲盤 inscription, plausibly dating to 823 BC, and celebrating a victory against the Xianyun.[49] If this is indeed the case, then presumably this Xibo Jiafu can also be equated with the Jifu who claims authorship in the sphragis to poems 259 and 260, which seem to describe, respectively, the transfer of the state of Shen from northwest of the capital to its southeast, and a diplomatic mission undertaken by a Zhong Shanfu 仲山父 to the eastern state of Qi, both datable to 821 through the Bamboo Annals.[50] The combination of a uniquely specific individual named in the sphragis, combined with uniquely named addressees (the Lord of Shen and Zhong Shanfu, respectively), make these two poems utterly unique in the *Canon of Songs* tradition. Naturally, we must be careful not to jump to conclusions: these poems could easily be the work of a specialist poet commissioned by Jifu, just as he seems to have commissioned inscriptions,[51] or they could be the work of a later poet using the name of a historical figure as a cover for his own (possibly indirectly critical) work. Nonetheless, even if these two poems do not give us a

[48] Ibid.: 214.

[49] Ibid.: 151.

[50] Ibid.: 137.

[51] On the commissioning of a work of literature as a form of authorship, see Simone Winko, Heinrich Detering, "Autor-Funktionen. Zur argumentativen Verwendung von Autorkonzepten in der gegenwärtigen literaturwissenschaftlichen Interpretationspraxis," in: *Autorschaft: Positionen und Revisionen*, Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002: 348–49.

specific individual whom we can name as their author, the fact that they even give us an identifiable persona is itself highly significant.

Just as significant, from the perspective of the study of authorship, might be the use that these facts were put to many centuries later by the Mao Preface. Both *Songs* 259 and 260 offer something of a Holy Grail for Ruist hermeneutics: praiseful exhortation of one worthy subject by another, all in the service of a noble ruler whose missions were crowned with success. Everything, in other words, that the Mao Prefaces sought so assiduously in the entire collection, and with such dubious results, they find in fairly explicit form here; moreover, *Song* 177 (*The Sixth Month*) provides an additional confirmation of the significance and worthiness of the author of *Songs* 259 and 260. As such, these three poems provide valuable legitimation of the Mao Preface's technique – and also, perhaps, reveal something further about that technique. As already suggested, the Preface understands the sequence of the poems to be chronological within each section; moreover, this sequence seems to have been set by the time of the Preface, since in many cases the strained interpretations the Preface offers (of which we have seen a few examples) could have been avoided simply by rearranging the poems in a more suitable order. It would appear, therefore, that the Mao Preface constructed scenes of authorship out of the mapping of this presumptively chronological sequence onto what it knew of the history of the era (from the Bamboo Annals and other sources). Where that material was dense and detailed, and where (as with the reign of King Xuan) there was strong textual support for linking given poems to historical events, that process was relatively straightforward; where poems could be linked (based on sequence and on uplifting, instructive or optimistic content) with Kings Wen and Wu, then the powerful mythological associations with that era provided a ready interpretation as well. In between, and wherever details were lacking, more speculative strategies were needed. Optimistic or apolitical poems could be linked to bad rulers quite arbitrarily based on the slenderest of historical information (as with Duke Ai of Qing), or transmuted into indirect blame. The anchor-points of Wen and Wu, on the one hand, and the reigns of Li, Xuan and You, on the other hand, moreover provided the skeleton of a narrative of foundation, decline, revival and further decline, a narrative to which al-

most any poem could be attached. As we saw, *The Sixth Month* seems to have been an especially significant poem in this respect: securely datable (in its reference, if not in its composition) to the reign of King Xuan, it provided a basis for reading most of the preceding *Minor Court Songs* as simultaneously encoding Ruist values, and narrating the decline of those values in the tenth and ninth centuries BC.

If the attribution to Jifu were accurate in any way, then of course these poems would have even more to teach us about authorship in early China. The reign of King Xuan is already clearly a turning point in the historical record as it is transmitted to us, representing the moment from which point onwards a continuous, datable and at least somewhat reliable narrative of Chinese history can be seen to date. To some extent, this may be merely a question of which materials survived long enough to be known, for example, to Sima Qian. It is possible, however, that the era represents something of an emergence of historical self-consciousness, and that the comparative fullness of the historical record thereafter is a product of some shift of attitude during that era. Certainly, the Bamboo Annals, for example, do in fact contain much that may be of historical value in prior reigns, but the change in quantity and quality is striking. The emergence of a figure such as Jifu, self-consciously represented as the author of his own poetry, and thus simultaneously preserving a record of events and ensuring his own immortality, acts as an emblem of that shift, whether Jifu composed or commissioned these poems himself, or whether they were retrospectively attributed to him at a later date. Whatever the case, Jifu provided a model, not only for poets of the future, but for those who would invent the poets of the past.

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The Compiler as the Narrator: Awareness of Authorship, Authorial Presence and Author Figurations in Japanese Imperial Anthologies, with a Special Focus on the *Kokin wakashū*

Simone Müller

Introduction

In the 1960s, French poststructuralist Roland Barthes proclaimed, under the banner of "intertextuality"[1], the death of the author.[2] The author was downgraded to a megaphone for the speech of others and to a "compiler" of citations. In more recent studies, following the emergence of new media, the basically collective character of text production has been stressed, thus challenging the term "author" from a new perspective.[3] Both objections against the conception of the author question the possibility for individual and subjective originality in the creative process of text production.

Barthes' definition of the author as a "compiler of citations" certainly has its point. Classical Japanese poetry, for instance, is characterised by numerous allusions to pre-texts (hypotexts) constituting a dense net of intertextual relations. However, as Matias Mar-

[1] See Matias Martinez, "Autorschaft und Intertextualität." In: *Rückkehr des Autors. Zur Erneuerung eines umstrittenen Begriffs.* Ed. by Fotis Jannidis, Gerhard Lauer, Matias Martinez and Simone Winko. Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur 71. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999: 465–79.

[2] See Roland Barthes, "La mort de l'auteur." In: Roland Barthes: *Oeuvres complètes* 2 (1966–1973). Paris: Seuil, 1994 (1968): 491–95 and Julia Kristeva, *Le mot, le dialogue et le roman*. In: *Recherches pour une sémianalyse*. Paris: Seuil, 1978: 82–112.

[3] See Martha Woodmansee, "On the Author Effect. Recovering Collectivity." In: *The Construction of Authorship: Textual Appropriation in Law and Literature.* Ed. by Martha Woodmansee and Peter Jaszi. Durham, NC; London: Duke University Press, 1994: 15–28.

tinez demonstrates in his article "Autorschaft und Intertextualität" (Authorship and Intertextuality, 1999), the quality and relevance of a work of art, which constitute crucial topics in discussions on authorship, do not depend primarily on the presence or absence of pre-texts, nor, in my view, on the number of text producers, but rather on the specific selection and arrangement of text material.[4] I wish to argue in the following that, depending on the manner of selection and arrangement of pre-texts, even the product of compilation and of collective editorship can become an artistic act of creation which fulfils authorial functions. I would like to demonstrate this based on the example of Japanese imperial anthologies. I will use Fotis Jannidis' model of authorial figurations, thus making a contribution to the ongoing discourse on authorship.[5] Moreover, I will also apply some parameters elaborated in the introduction of this volume by Steineck/Schwermann, notably their operational model of authorial presence.

First, I will define five authorial figurations using Jannidis' model. In the main section, I will demonstrate how in classical Japanese poetry an increasing awareness of authorship emerged, how compilers of imperial anthologies operated in the creative process of their compilation, and why the compilers of imperial anthologies basically fulfil such functions in the sense of Jannidis. As a case study, I will focus on the *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (Collection of Old and New Poems, 920), the first anthology published by imperial decree in the 10th century.

1. Fotis Jannidis' Author Figurations

The answer to the question of at what point a compiler fulfils authorial functions depends essentially on the definition of the term "author". Fotis Jannidis, who pleads for the usefulness of the con-

[4] See Martinez, "Autorschaft und Intertextualität."

[5] See Fotis Jannidis, "Der nützliche Autor. Möglichkeiten eines Begriffs zwischen Text und historischem Kontext." In: *Rückkehr des Autors. Zur Erneuerung eines umstrittenen Begriffs*. Ed. by Fotis Jannidis, Gerhard Lauer, Matias Martinez, Simone Winko. Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur 71. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999: 353–89.

ception of the author in historicising literary interpretations, defines five authorial "functions" or "figurations" in the process of text production and interpretation[6] in his article "Der nützliche Autor – Möglichkeiten eines Begriffs zwischen Text und historischem Kontext" (The Useful Author – Possibilities of a Concept between Text and Historical Context, 1999).

Figuration of selection (attribution of the selected text elements)

The author chooses text elements such as words, rhetorical figures, plot units, constellations of fictional characters or text units from an available text stock. The selection does not derive from an infinite space of possibilities, but is limited by time-bound semantics.

Figuration of arrangement (attribution of the identifiable order of text elements

The author puts the selected text elements in a sequence. The possibilities for arrangement essentially depend on the selection. The arrangement is subdivided into an "order type" (for instance *tanka*, anthology) and the "alignment" of the text elements.

Figuration of insight (attribution of the insight being expressed in the text)

By means of the arrangement and the resulting meaning of the text the author refers to his insight into a higher truth. The expressed insight must coincide—at least in part—with the knowledge of the reader.

Figuration of innovation (attribution of the innovative achievement of the text)

The author selects elements from various texts and arranges them into a new work of art. The figuration of innovation allows for the localisation of a text in a historical model organised by the difference between "old" against "new" and is thus linked to the knowledge of the recipient.

[6] On these terms, see the Introduction to this volume, § 6.

Figuration of meaning (attribution of the text's meaning)

By his selection and arrangement, the author gives the text a new meaning. The creation of meaning by the author stands in a communicative relationship with the recipient as well.

The attribution of a text's meaning to its author has long been criticised harshly under the catchword of "the intentional fallacy".[7] The declarations of the death of the author by Roland Barthes[8] and other poststructuralists, as well as the reception theories of Hans Robert Jauss[9] and Wolfgang Iser[10] aim in large part at this point as well. The meaning of a text, the critics assert, is not the achievement of the author, but inherent to the text, a product of discourses, pretexts, and the constitution of the reader.

The authorial intention is certainly restricted by historical, social, and speech-act factors, in other words by the "horizon", which may be defined as a system of expectations and probabilities. When seeking an "objective interpretation" (in the sense of Eric D. Hirsch[11]), it does not seem reasonable, however, to entirely discard all authorial intention. In the case of classical Japanese anthologies, the attribution of meaning to the author, and in some cases to the compiler as well, can be essential for an adequate textual interpretation.

The arguments formulated above show that the figurations of "meaning", "insight," and "innovation" each relate cause and effect to the figurations of "selection" and "arrangement", being the actual acts of text production: they essentially result from the selection

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[7] See Wimsatt and Beardsley, *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954 (1946): 3–18.

[8] Barthes, "La mort de l'auteur."

[9] See Hans Robert Jauss, "Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literaturwissenschaft." 2nd ed. Konstanzer Universitätsreden 3. Konstanz: Verlag der Druckerei und Verlagsanstalt, Universitätsverlag, 1969 (1967).

[10] See Wolfgang Iser, *Die Appellstruktur der Texte: Unbestimmtheit als Wirkungsbedingung literarischer Prosa*. Konstanzer Universitätsreden 28. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag, 1971.

[11] See Eric D. Hirsch, "Objective Interpretation." In: *Validity in Interpretation. 8th print.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978: 209–44.

and arrangement of text elements. Moreover, they are linked to the text reception.

A “compiler” in the classical meaning of the term usually merely fulfils the figurations of “selection” and “arrangement”, whereby he deals with larger text units. The arrangement of the selected texts may in some cases be innovative, but they usually do not constitute a new meaning or insight. Applied to Jannidis' model, the “compiler figurations” may be illustrated as follows:

Table 1 – application of compiler figurations to Jannidis' model of author figurations

author figurations (Jannidis)	fulfilled	potentially fulfilled	not fulfilled	Reason
figuration of selection	X			collection and selection of text elements
figuration of arrangement	X			arrangement of the selected text elements
figuration of insight			X	arrangement of the selected text elements does not give the composition a new insight
figuration of innovation		X		potentially innovative arrangement of the selected text

				elements
figuration of meaning			X	arrangement of the selected text elements does not give the composition a new meaning

The question of whether a compiler fulfils authorial figurations, therefore, depends in considerable measure on the question of whether he, through his specific selection and arrangement, fulfils the functions of "meaning", "insight", and "innovation". In the following, I would like to demonstrate such a coalescence of the functions of "compiler" and "author" based on the example of Japanese imperial anthologies. Before focusing on the compiler's figurations in Japanese anthologies, I would first like to examine the awareness of authorship in Japanese poetry in general.

2. Awareness of authorship in classical Japanese poetry

With reference to the theme of "authorship", classical Japanese poetry exhibits two specific characteristics: A growing authorial consciousness in general and a successively growing importance and creative role of compilers. These two features are strongly related to the social role that court poetry played: Publicly held poetry competitions known as *utaawase* 歌合, as well as anthologies compiled by imperial command, the so-called *chokusen wakashū* 勅撰和歌集, provided a public stage on which poets could show their cultivation and gain social prestige.

In classical Japanese poetry, an increasingly strong awareness of authorship emerges, beginning in the time of the oldest extant anthology, the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves) from the late eighth century. This manifests itself, among other things, in a steady decrease in anonymous poems. Of the 4,516 poems of the *Man'yōshū,* the majority are anonymous, whereas in the *Kokin Wakashū* 古今和歌集, the first anthology published by imperial decree in the 10th century, just under half of the poems are by

unknown authors. In the following collections there is a further marked reduction in the number of anonymous poems. A comparison between the *Kokinshū* and the *Shinkokin Wakashū* 新古今和歌集 (New Collection of Old and New Poems, c. 1205), the eighth imperial anthology from the 13th century, powerfully illustrates this tendency:

Table 2 – Percentage of anonymous poems in the Kokinshū

Kokinshū	**Total**	**Anonymous**	**Percentage of anonymous Poems**
Season poetry	342	123	36%
Love poetry	360	182	50.5%
Total	1,100	463	42%

Source: *Kokin wakashū* 1989

Table 3 – Percentage of anonymous poems in the Shinkokinshū

Shinkokinshū	**Total**	**Anonymous**	**Percentage of anonymous Poems**
Season poetry	706	17	2.4%
Love poetry	446	49	11%
Total	1,978	105	5.3%

Source: *Shinkokin wakashū* 1992

The *Kokinshū* contains a total of 42% anonymous poems, whereas in the *Shinkokinshū* there are only 5.3%. Despite this large percentage difference, there are similarities in the comparative statistics, as the majority of the anonymous works are love poems.

2.1. Awareness of authorship in classical Japanese love poetry

In contrast to season poetry, travel poetry or elegies, love poetry belongs to the private sphere of poetry, which explains why the authors of love poems are often unknown. Many classical Japanese love poems can be classified as "exchange" poems (*sōmonka* 相聞歌; *mondōka* 問答歌), and, given the restrictive social status rules to which the court aristocracy was subjected during the Heian period (794–1185), many of those involved in love relationships did not

want this to be public knowledge. Nevertheless, from the beginning, poetry was basically a public matter, and love poetry was not an exception to the rule. The art of poetry enjoyed a high social status, and poetic flair was one of the essential conditions for social recognition.

An important manifestation of the public role of poetry were the poetry competitions known as *utaawase* 歌合, which were already taking place in the 9th century.[12] They were not only entertainments but also provided a public stage on which poets could raise their social profile as authors. The rules of the poetry contest stipulated that poems should be composed according to various topoi, a practice known by the term *daiei* 題詠, which was adopted from the Chinese poetic tradition. The prescribed topics also included themes from love poetry, for example unrequited love (*katakoi* 片恋), the dream of the beloved or the topos known as "Love on the Morning After" (*kinuginu no koi* 後朝の恋). Classical Japanese love poetry thus is a hybrid genre in which it is not always possible to tell whether the poems are merely conventional or the expression of subjective feelings, although authenticity and convention are not necessarily mutually exclusive.[13] Nevertheless, the fact that in poetry competitions love poetry was publicly recited and attributed to individual authors vividly illustrates that, even in love poetry, an awareness of authorship was already in existence in the ninth century. There is an increasing awareness of authorship in classical Japanese love poetry on the whole as well. In the *Man'yōshū* the majority of love poems were anonymous; in the tenth-century *Kokinshū* the corresponding figure is only 50%, and in the 13th century *Shinkokinshū* only 10% of the love poems are by authors whose names are not known.

[12] See Judit Árokay, "Wettstreit der Gedichte – Wettstreit der Geschlechter. Frauen- und Männerrollen in höfischen utaawase." In: *11. Deutschsprachiger Japanologentag in Trier 1999*. Ed. by Hilaria Gössmann and Andreas Mrugalla. Vol. 2 (Sprache, Literatur, Kunst, Populärkultur/Medien, Informationstechnik). Ostasien – Pazifik. Trier: Studien zu Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Kultur 14. Hamburg: LIT, 2001: 133–42, here 133.

[13] See Rein Raud, "The Lover's Subject: Its Construction and Relativization in the Waka Poetry of the Heian Period." In: *Love and Sexuality in Japanese Literature*. Ed. by Eiji Sekine. Proceedings of the Midwest Association for Japanese Literary Studies [PMAJLS] vol. 5, (1999): 65–78, here 75.

2.2. Awareness of authorship and conceptions of gender in classical Japanese women's poetry

Apart from the high percentage of love poems, another notable feature of anonymous poems is the high percentage of poems by women, or of poems in which the narrator is female. Determining authorial awareness in women's poems is not wholly unproblematic, however, because it is not always possible to make a clear determination as to whether a Japanese poem was written by a woman or by a man.[14] Given the brevity of *tanka* poems, permitting little more than the depiction of a momentary emotional state, determination of the gender of the subject of the utterance is often impossible at the linguistic level. In season poetry the narrator is often not marked and for the most part only a natural phenomenon is described, such as the falling of cherry blossoms or a mist-enshrouded bay. This renders it virtually impossible to determine the narrator's gender. (It should nonetheless be noted that the majority of poems known to be by women in the compilation under discussion are love poems, not nature poems.) In love poetry the identification of the subject of utterance is somewhat easier as the emotions expressed sometimes permit conclusions about the gender of the narrator, which is often, but not always, identical to the sex of the historical author.[15] Indications of gender are also provided by various motifs, such as seaweed floating on water (*ukigusa* 浮き草), which symbol-

[14] The problem of gender identification in anonymous poetry is also examined by Marion Eggert in her contribution to this volume, "Fluidity of Belonging and Creative Appropriation: Authorship and Translation in an Early Sinic Song (Kongmudoha Ka)."

[15] On the relation between gender and love poetry, see Kojima Naoko 小島菜温子, "Koiuta to jendâ: Narihira, Komachi, Henjō 恋歌とジェンダー：業平・小町・遍照." In: *Kokubungaku* 國文学 (*Koten sekai no koiuta* 古典世界の恋歌) vol. 41, no. 12 (October 1996): 56–62. On the issue of gender in waka poetry see Laurel Rasplica Rodd, "'Moving and Without Strength': Is there a Woman's Voice in Waka?." In: *Across Time and Genre: Reading and Writing Women's Texts*. Ed. By Janice Brown and Sonja Arntzen. Conference Proceedings, University of Alberta, 2002. For a recent publication on the topic see Michel Vieillard-Baron, "Male? Female? Gender Confusion in Classical Poetry (waka)." In: *Cipango, French Journal of Japanese Literature* vol. 2 (2013) (Language and Literature), http://cjs.revues.org/270 (28.6.2013).

ises the emotional instability of a woman abandoned by her lover. The topos of waiting or of yearning also suggests a female narrator, reflecting social conventions. The courtly marriage system of the Heian period was based on a duolocal marriage system, i.e. a form of "walking marriage" or "visit marriage" was practised.[16] The literature portrays an arrangement in which women continued to live in their parents' home after marriage and were visited by their husbands, usually at night. This is why narratological investigative methods such as study of the narrative perspective may be useful in order to determine the gender of the narrator. Verbs of waiting (*matsu* 待つ) or coming (*ku* 来) point to a poem with a female subject of utterance who is "waiting" for her beloved or who calls on him to "come" to her. Literary research has even used social relationship conventions to determine the gender of the authors of anonymous dream poems (*yume no uta* 夢の歌). Rein Raud demonstrates, for example, how walking along the dream path (*yume no kaiyoiji* 夢の通路), a popular motif in dream poetry, was adapted to social conventions.[17]The strict transferability of social conventions to dream poetry is a controversial issue in Japanese literary scholarship, however. It is argued that the dream in poetry is a free dimension in which social restrictions do not apply and in which love can be freely lived out.[18] It, therefore, seems that in the dream poems the attempt to define the narrator's gender in relation to visiting practices does not succeed in all cases. An analysis of the poems in which the author is known, however, confirms the tendency that in both Japanese poetry in general and dream poetry in particular the con-

[16] See William H. McCullough, "Japanese Marriage Institutions in the Heian Period." In: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol. 27 (1967): 103–67, Peter Nickerson, "The Meaning of Matrilocality: Kinship, Property and Politics in Mid-Heian." In: *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 48, no. 4 (1993): 429–67 and Haruko Wakita, "Marriage and Property in Premodern Japan. From the Perspective of Women's History." In: *Journal of Japanese Studies* vol. 10, no. 1 (1984): 73–99.

[17] See Raud, "The Lover's Subject: Its Construction and Relativization in the Waka Poetry of the Heian Period", 68.

[18] See Matsuda Takeo 松田武夫, *Shinshaku Kokin wakashû* 新釈古今和歌集. 2 vols. Tōkyō: Kazama shobô 風間書房, 1968–1975: vol. 2: 275f.

ventional visiting practices between men and women were observed.[19]

The problem of determining the author's sex proves to be even more complicated. Even when the narrative perspective makes it possible to identify the gender of the narrator, this need not mean that the sex of the author is known as well. As early as in the *Man'yōshū*, and particularly in the poetry of the Heian period, we find the practice of men composing poems from the fictitious viewpoint of a lonely woman awaiting her lover.[20] This is a Japanese adaptation of Chinese boudoir poetry or *guiyanshi* 閨怨詩, a genre of Chinese poetry of the late Six Dynasties era, in which the lover's complaint is expressed from the viewpoint of a court lady awaiting her lover.[21] The anthology compiled by Xu Ling 徐陵 (507–583) entitled *Yutai xinyong* 玉台新詠 (Songs from the Jade Terrace, 545) is regarded as representative in this respect.

Chinese boudoir poetry was adopted in Japanese poetry, where it established itself as the "poetry of waiting" (*matsu koi no uta* 待恋歌). It is a genre that is particularly prominent in the *Kokinshū*. In contrast to China, where poetry was heavily dominated by men, the topos found its way into men's and women's poetry in Japan.
Therefore, we need to exercise caution when investigating the sex of the author of anonymous poems. According to the theory of the philologist Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697–1769), the poetic style of the *Kokinshū* is generally regarded as plaintive and feminine (*taoyameburi*). In my view, this is attributable to the marked influ-

[19] See Simone Müller, *Sehnsucht nach Illusion? Klassische japanische Traumlyrik aus geschlechtsspezifischer und literaturgeschichtlicher Perspektive*. Welten Ostasiens 2. Bern: Peter Lang, 2005.

[20] See Aoki Takako 青木生子, "Man'yōshū ni okeru dansei ni yoru onnauta 万葉集における男性による女歌." In: *Man'yō*. 万葉 no. 168 (March 1999): 1–23.

[21] See Anne M. Birrell, "The Dusty Mirror: Courtly Portraits of Woman in Southern Dynasties Love Poetry." In: *Expressions of Self in Chinese Literature*. Ed. by Robert E. Hegel and Richard C. Hessney. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985: 33–69, Ronald C. Miao, "Palace-Style Poetry: The Courtly Treatment of Glamour and Love." In: *Studies in Chinese Poetry and Poetics* 1. Ed. by Ronald C. Miao. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1987: 1–42 and David T. Roy, "The Theme of the Neglected Wife in the Poetry of Ts'ao Chih." In: *The Journal of Asian Studies* vol. 19, no. 1 (November 1959): 25–31.

ence of Chinese boudoir poetry on the *Kokinshū*.[22] To my knowledge there is still a tendency in Japanese *Kokinshū* research to attribute the anonymous poetry of waiting to a female authorship. For reasons that can only be outlined here, it seems likely that more anonymous poems were actually written from the fictitious perspective of a waiting woman than the academic consensus generally admits. The problem is that, as discussed above, it is often not possible to substantiate this thesis at the level of language or content, and we are left with a supposition based on speech act logic in the conventions of Heian poetry. At any event these conventions of speech act logic, which may have permitted men, and even women,[23] to compose poems from the fictitious perspective of the other sex, raise serious doubts about whether awareness of authorship was in fact less pronounced among female poets than among men. It seems at least as likely that it is the result of tendencies in literary scholarship to identify the gender of the narrator with the sex of the historic author.

In his study on gender confusion in classical Japanese poetry, Michel Vieillard Baron arrives at the following conclusion, with which I will close this section:

> [...] waka poetic genre is intrinsically sexually ambivalent, even in the case of love poems. [...] the vast majority of waka contain no internal elements to suggest the gender of the piece. [...] While in some cases the situation described (waiting, for example, which places the poem in a female register) enables the gender of the poem to be determined – albeit independently of the author's biological sex – in most cases it is external information (the name of the poet and the headnotes explaining the context in which the poem was composed) that enable us

[22] See Konishi Jin'ichi 小西甚一, "Kokinshūteki hyōgen no seiritsu 古今集的表現の成立." In: *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集. Ed. by Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō kankōkai 日本文学研究資料刊行会. Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōsho 日本文学研究資料叢書. Tōkyō: Yūseidō 有精堂, 1976: 151–78 and Konishi Jin'ichi, "The Genesis of the Kokinshū Style." Transl. by Helen Mc. Cullough. In: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol. 38, no. 1 (June 1978): 61–170.

[23] On men's poetry written by women see Gotō Shōko 後藤祥子, "Joryū ni yoru otoko uta ▪ Shikishi naishinnō e no shiten 女流による男歌 – 式子内親王歌への一視点," in: *Heian bungaku ronshū* 平安文学論集. Edited by Sekine Yoshiko hakase shōga-kai 関根慶子博士頌賀会. Tōkyō, Kazama shob ō 風間書房, 1992.

> to identify the sex of the waka's author and the gender of the narrator [...]. The fundamental role of these external elements in determining our reading and interpretation of waka is thus clear; without them, the question of sexual identification would often remain open.[24]

2.3. Author figurations in classical Japanese poetry

I would now like to refer to a final problem regarding author awareness or the author figuration in writers of classical Japanese poetry.[25] The topics and rhetorical techniques of classical Japanese poetry were strongly conventionalised. There is also a long tradition of deliberate allusions to former – famous – poems. This tradition presumably has to do with the Confucian concept of seeking out the ideal in the past. In Japan, as also in China, this concept developed into an aesthetic ideal that does not strive for innovation but instead refers to literary predecessors. Innovative variation within tradition was regarded as beautiful and touching.

The quality of a text depended on the artist's skill in alluding to predecessors, thus providing his poem with a new dimension through the simultaneous activation of two texts and proving his literacy at the same time. This aesthetic ideal is closely linked to the relationship between author and reader. An allusion or a conventionalised phraseology has to rely on the audience's competence to recognise it as such. Therefore, poetic composition required a profound knowledge of classical texts not only on the part of the artist but also on that of the recipient. Such an interaction between the author and audience was only possible if both sides commanded comparable degrees of literacy. Aristocratic society in Japan was constituted by a small group of courtiers, who were both the producers and the recipients of poetry. They shared the same education and the same code of literary expression. They formed – to use a term from ethno-linguistics – so-called "small groups". Thus, classical Japanese poetry constitutes a diachronic and synchronic reticule of intertextual references in a constant dialectic dialogue. In the

[24] Vieillard-Baron, "Male? Female? Gender Confusion in Classical Poetry (waka)."

[25] The following section is largely based on Müller, *Sehnsucht nach Illusion? Klassische japanische Traumlyrik aus geschlechtsspezifischer und literaturgeschichtlicher Perspektive*, 32–33.

words of Roland Barthes, they form “un chambre d’échos”. Thus, they might well be called “compilers of pre-texts”. To continue my argumentation in the preface, however, this does not automatically mean that the production of a classical Japanese poem does not constitute an innovative and meaning-generating act of creation. The quality of a text depended on the artist’s skill to use conventionalised vocabulary, phraseology, imagery and metaphors adequately, weaving them together into a new poem without being stereotypical. Thus innovation in classical Japanese verse does not mean creation of a new diction or imagery but rather the original use of the traditionally sanctioned framework, which then creates an innovative piece of art. The peak of this principle in Japanese poetry was the 13th century with the postulate of Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241) that beautiful art relies on old language but brings forward a new feeling.[26]

Fotis Jannidis' author figurations can, therefore, be applied to the creation process of a classical Japanese poem as follows: the author of classical Japanese poems freely selects elements from a stock of existing poems, motifs and topoi within a given literary convention (=figuration of selection) – in Stephen Greenblatt's terminology he or she chooses from the supply of typical forms existing in a given period and re-shapes them to form a new poem (=figuration of arrangement) by integrating into the poem an insight (=figuration of insight, for example into the transitory nature of being) and thus adding new aspects (=figuration of innovation).[27] It is also the author who gives the work its ultimate meaning (=figuration of meaning). Although the reconstruction of inter-textual connections and speech act conventions is useful when attempting to understand the meaning of a poem, in most cases variables remain that ultimately can be understood only through knowledge of the author's inten-

[26] See Oscar Benl, *Die Entwicklung der japanischen Poetik bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*. Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde 56, Reihe B: Völkerkunde, Kulturgeschichte und Sprachen 31. Hamburg: Cram, de Guyter & Co, 1951: 73.

[27] Stephen Greenblatt, “Towards a Poetics of Culture.” In: *The New Historicism*. Edited by H. Aram Veeser. London: Routledge, 1989: 1–14. See also Jannidis, “Der nützliche Autor. Möglichkeiten eines Begriffs zwischen Text und historischem Kontext”, 374.

tion.[28] In summary, we can conclude that following strict conventions by no means excludes authorial creativity. The work is created by an individual who may be conditioned by certain conventions and socio-political context but who within this conditioning retains scope for selection, shaping, insight, innovation and the attribution of meaning.

3. The compilation of imperial anthologies, exemplified by the Kokinshū: operations and structure

Besides the growing authorial awareness of individually created poems, Japanese classical poetry is also characterised by a growing importance of its compilers. The anthologies published at the behest of the emperor (*chokusen wakashū*) are particularly interesting objects of study because not only the authors but also the compilers were assigned an important authorial role.

From the beginning of Japanese literature, compilers appear to have enjoyed a high social status. As early as the *Man'yōshū,* the name at least of the main compiler, Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (718?–785), is known. The order to compile an anthology of poems brought with it considerable prestige. This applies in particular to anthologies published at the behest of the emperor.

The first anthology compiled under imperial command was the *Kokinshū:* In 905, Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇 (885–930) commanded four poetically outstanding courtiers to collect and edit their own poems and those of others with the aim to create an independent Japanese poetry. Political incidents were the reason in the background of this undertaking: With the looming decline of the Tang Dynasty at the end of the ninth century, accompanied by endeavours of the emperor to consolidate his power, there was an increasing desire for liberation from the cultural dominance of China and to develop an autonomous poetic tradition.

The four courtiers, the so-called *senja* 撰者 (collectors), who will in what follows be called "compilers", created a categorically arranged anthology with 20 volumes and 1,111 poems, written by 150 poets known by name and numerous anonymous poets, and with a

[28] See Hirsch, "Objective Interpretation."

Japanese and a Chinese preface. The structure and style of this first imperial anthology would become the basic model and aesthetic ideal of 20 further imperial anthologies up to the 15th century.

To be chosen by the emperor was a great honour for compilers that represented official public recognition both as poets and as scholars of poetry. The honour was only given to courtiers who had already gained a high reputation as poets. The name and rank of the compilers were stated in the anthologies' prefaces. This applies as well to the author of the preface as such, Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (872–945). The imperial order was, therefore, related to literary and social prestige.

The compilers in turn also exerted influence on the prestige of the authors selected by them by the choice of poems to be included in the anthology. A poet received special recognition if his or her poem was published at the beginning of an anthology or of one of its volumes.

Compilers could also position themselves as authors by including numerous poems of their own in anthologies. The *Man'yōshū,* for example, contains over 400 poems – about 10% of the total in the entire anthology – by Ōtomo no Yakamochi. The *Kokinshū* contains 101 poems by the main compiler Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (866?–945?), which also corresponds to about 10% of the total. In second, third and fourth places in terms of the total of poems included we find the three other compilers of the *Kokinshū*: Ōshikōchi no Mitsune 凡河内躬恒 (895?–925?) with 58 poems, the second most frequent contributor. He is followed by Ki no Tomonori 紀友野則 (c. 850–c. 905) with 45 poems and Mibu no Tadamine 壬生忠岑 (c. 925–c. 950) with 35. The only poets who are represented almost as frequently are the priest Sosei Hōshi 素性法師 (late 9th–10th century), with 36 poems and the famous poet Ariwara no Narihira 有原業平 (825–880) with 30 poems. Both were members of the so-called "poet-saints" (*rokkasen* 六歌仙), a group of 9th century poets who decisively influenced the *Kokinshū*-style.[29] They are singled out for special mention in the preface to the *Kokinshū,* where their work is also analysed in poetological terms.

[29] See Konishi, "Kokinshūteki hyōgen no seiritsu" and "The Genesis of the Kokinshū Style."

The publication of imperial anthologies thus represented an opportunity for Japanese compilers to present themselves as poets. But their role did not end there. Firstly, the compilers also wrote prefaces (*jo* 序) to their publications, which in some instances became celebrated. The Kana preface (*kanajo* 仮名序) to the *Kokinshū* written by its main compiler, Ki no Tsurayuki, occupies an important place in Japanese literary history and is considered an independent piece of art. In his preface, Tsurayuki identifies the essence of Japanese poetry and establishes standards for Japanese versification. The preface to the *Kokinshū* is, therefore, regarded as the first Japanese poetics. Secondly, compilers often wrote their own prefaces (*kotobagaki* 詞書) to the poems they select, commenting for example on the circumstances in which individual poems were composed. In some cases the contents of these introductory comments seem to be highly arbitrary, and it can be assumed that in these prefaces the compilers strongly influenced the recipients' approach to the reading of their own and others poems or attributed to the poems a nuance of meaning not intended by the authors. As Alexander Beecroft has shown in his article in this volume, "Authorship in the *Shi Jing* (Canon of Songs)," the interfering of compilers has its precedents in Chinese poetry.[30] To cite one example from the *Kokinshū*, the following poem by Ki no Tsurayuki is introduced as follows:

> After a good deal of time had passed, he stopped again at a house where he had been accustomed to spending the night whenever he made a pilgrimage to Hatsuse. The owner said to him, "As you see, there is a perfectly good place to spend the night here." He broke off a blossoming branch from a plum tree nearby and composed this poem.

人はいさ	I know but little
心もしらず	of what is in someone's heart,
ふるさとは	yet at the old place
花ぞ昔の	the fragrance of the blossoms
香ににほひける	is the scent of bygone days.

(Ki no Tsurayuki, KKS 1:42)[31]

30 See Alexander Beecroft, "Authorship in the Canon of Songs (Shi Jing)."

31 The *Kokinshū* poems in this paper are cited from the SNKBT edition (*Kokin wakashū* 1989), the English translations are from McCullough (*Kokinshū* 1985).

By describing the scent of the plum blossoms the author evokes nostalgia of the past, thus expressing insight into the ephemerality of being. In the *Kokinshū* the term *hana* 花 usually refers to cherry and not to plum blossoms.[32] The reader obtains the specific meaning of the term firstly by the information given in the introduction and secondly by the arrangement of the poem between two works that verbally refer to plum blossoms (*ume no hana* 梅の花, KKS 1:41 and KKS 1:43). Without this contextual knowledge provided by the compilers, given that we know the date of its creation, we would read the poem as one referring to cherry blossoms. Thus the compilers crucially affect the "meaning" i.e. the reading of the poem. In the example given above, the author of the introduction and of the poem is presumably identical. But we might infer that this technique is also applied in poems that are not written by the compilers themselves. To give another example, in the *Komachi shū* 小町集 (1958), an anthology probably compiled in the middle of the Heian period containing poems by Ono no Komachi, a dream poem is included (KKS 13:656; *Komachi shū* 14) in which the subject of utterance complains that the beloved fears the eyes of the world even when walking the dream path and does not visit even in a dream. The preface to the poem says "when she thought with longing of a man of high rank" (*yamu goto naki hito no shinobitamau ni*). This preface, probably added later by the publishers, led to the assumption that Ono no Komachi had an unhappy and forbidden love for the emperor Ninmyō 仁明天皇 (r. 833–850), and the poem was read in this sense.[33] As various studies have suggested, this is an example of a legend created around Ono no Komachi, as there is no historical evidence of a love relationship with the emperor Ninmyō.[34]

The interventions of the compilers in the production process of the *Kokinshū* are, therefore, manifold. A compiler acted as:

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[32] See Haruo Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012: 35.

[33] See Felice Renee Fischer, *Ono no Komachi: A Ninth Century Poetess of Heian Japan*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972: 24.

[34] See Katagiri Yōichi 片桐洋一, Ono no Komachi tsuiseki: ‚Komachishū' ni yoru Komachi setsuwa no kenkyū 小野小町追跡：‚小町集'による小町説話の研究. 2Nd ed. Tōkyō: Kasama shoin 笠間書院, 1993.

- a collector and selector of poems (=compiler)
- an arranger of the selected poems (=compiler)
- a writer of introductory commentaries (*kotobagaki*) on the poems (=commentator)
- a writer of poems included in the anthology (=author)
- a writer of prefaces (*jo*) to the anthology (=author).

With reference to Bonaventura's classical model of "authorial modes" as presented in the introduction of this volume, Ki no Tsurayuki and his collaborators acted as compilers (*compilator*) of the anthology (someone who collates various received textual materials), as commentators (*commentator*) of individual poems (someone who collates received textual materials and self-composed texts, while treating the received material as primary and his/her own composition as secondary), and as authors (*auctor*) of the preface and of poems (someone who combines received textual materials and self-composed texts, while treating the received material as secondary). Moreover, by writing prefaces and including their own poems, they already exhibit qualities of modern publishers.

In the following, I would like to argue that the peculiarity of the compilers of the *Kokinshū* lies not only in their manifold involvement in the production process of the anthology, but in the circumstance that they, in their specific function as compilers—that is to say, in their achievement of selection and arrangement—basically fulfil authorial figurations in Jannidis' definition. These result from the anthology's specific structure and composition.

3.1 Categorical structure of the Kokinshū

Imperial anthologies are characterised by a complex structure. The compilers of the *Kokinshū* set the standards that were almost universally adopted by the compilers of the imperial anthologies that followed. Arai Eizō defines the structural elements of the *Kokinshū* in terms of three principles: a "classificatory," a "contrastive" and a "temporal" arrangement.[35] Another structuring principle, that of

[35] See Arai Eizō 新井栄蔵, "Kokinshū no kōzō 古今集の構造." In: *Kokinshū* 古今集.

"association," can be added to these three elements.[36] Firstly, the thematic arrangement (*budate* 部立) of the poems creates a carefully thought-out composition which, according to Arai, is based on the first level (*ichiji burui* 一次部類) on the principle of contrast.[37] The *Kokinshū* is categorically arranged into twenty volumes:

Table 4 – categorical structure of the Kokinshū

Vol	Subject		Number of poems
Vol 1	Seasons: Spring 1	春歌上	68
Vol 2	Seasons: Spring 2	春歌下	66 (134)
Vol 3	Seasons: Summer	夏歌	34
Vol 4	Seasons: Autumn 1	秋歌上	80
Vol 5	Seasons: Autumn 2	秋歌下	65 (145)
Vol 6	Seasons: Winter	冬歌	29 (Nature: 342)
Vol 7	Felicitations	賀歌	22
Vol 8	Parting	離別歌	41
Vol 9	Travel	羇旅歌	16
Vol 10	Names of Things	物名	47
Vol 11	Love 1	恋歌一	83
Vol 12	Love 2	恋歌二	64
Vol 13	Love 3	恋歌三	61
Vol 14	Love 4	恋歌四	70
Vol 15	Love 5	恋歌五	82 (Love: 360)
Vol 16	Laments	哀傷歌	34
Vol 17	Miscellaneous 1	雑歌上	70
Vol 18	Miscellaneous 2	雑歌下	68 (Misc: 138)
Vol 19	Miscellaneous Forms	雑体	68
Vol 20	Folk Music, Office Songs	神遊の歌、東歌	32

Ed. by Ueno Osamu et al. Waka bungaku kōza 和歌文学講座 4. Tōkyō: Benseisha 勉誠社, 1994: 51–68, here 56.

[36] See Konishi Jin'ichi 小西甚一, "Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, AD 900–1350." Transl. by Robert Brower and Earl Miner. In: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol. 21 (1958): 67–123.

[37] Arai, "Kokinshū no kōzō", 58–59.

The largest space is occupied by nature poetry and love poetry, nature poetry being placed at the beginning of the anthology and thus taking pride of place.[38] Within the genre of nature poetry, spring poems and autumn poems enjoy the highest status, as we see from the fact that each of these seasons is given a volume to itself, whereas summer and winter are together assigned a single volume. The aesthetic rivalry between spring and autumn is a thread running through the entire history of Japanese literature. Already in the *Man'yōshū,* the woman poet Nukata no Ōgimi 額田王 (c. 630–c. end of 7th century) stages a contest between the two seasons, in which autumn as the more refined season emerges as the winner (MYS Vol. 1, 16). A common feature of both seasons is that they symbolise a feeling of transitoriness, underscoring the importance of melancholy in the Japanese history of ideas. As Haruo Shirane points out, "the focus of poems about cherry blossoms is not so much on the flowers at their peak as on the anticipation of the cherry blossoms and the regret at their scattering."[39] However, in Japan we are not dealing with the brooding and brilliant melancholy depicted in Albrecht Dürer's drawing "Melencolia" but with an aesthetic melancholy whose gloom is based on the recognition that all being is transitory and, therefore, all terrestrial manifestations of beauty are transitory. The correlative of this feeling is found in the aesthetic-philosophical term *mono no aware* 物の哀れ. The melancholy feeling of transitoriness is an intellectual coordinate running throughout Japanese literary history.

Transitoriness is also the central topos of love poetry, which also occupies a special position with five volumes in the imperial anthologies. The transitions between the genres are nonetheless often fluid, as love is implicit in the seasonal poems and the seasons and nature are the primary expression of love, thus human feelings are

[38] See Yamaji Heishirō 山路平四郎, "Kokin wakashū no budate ni tsuite 古今和歌集の部立に就いて." In: *Kokinwakashū* 古今和歌集. Ed. by Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō kankōkai 日本文学研究資料刊行会. Tōkyō: Yūseidō 有精堂, 1976: 65–73, here 65. On the role of the four seasons in Japanese culture see Shirane *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*.

[39] See Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 47.

often depicted by means of a natural phenomenon.[40] Here too what is celebrated is not the fulfilment of love but the suffering and the transitoriness of love.

3.2. Arrangement of poems according to the structural principle of progression

The recognition that life is a permanent process goes hand-in-hand with this awareness of transitoriness. This view is reflected not only in the highest status that is accorded to the expression of transitoriness in Japanese poetry and in the great importance attached to nature and love poetry but also in the arrangement of the poems. A striking feature of imperial anthologies from the *Kokinshū* onwards is the arrangement of individual poems according to the principles of progression, association and contrast. Together they form an arrangement structure on the second level (*niji burui* 二次部類).[41]

The principle of "progression" is pronounced in nature and love poetry. As the above table indicates, the 342 season poems are arranged in such a way that as a whole they depict the course of a calendar year, from the first hint of spring to the final fading of winter.[42] The 360 love poems as a whole describe the process of a courtly love affair, from the first burgeoning of love to the painful final separation, like the blossoming of plants in spring and their fading in autumn.[43] In this manner, love is equated to a seasonal cycle, or, as Thomas LaMarre puts it, "natural generative patterns supply the patterns for human emotions."[44] As LaMarre has shown,

[40] Ibid., 26.

[41] See Arai, "Kokinshū no kōzō", 58.

[42] On the arrangement of the season poems in the *Kokinshū* see Arai Eizō 新井栄蔵, "Kokin wakashū shiki no bu no kōzō ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu – tairitsuteki no tachiba kara 古今和歌集四季の部についての一考察 – 対立的機構の立場から." In: *Kokinwakashū* 古今和歌集. Ed. by Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō kankōkai 日本文学研究資料刊行会. Tōkyō: Yūseidō 有精堂, 1976: 92–117.

[43] On the arrangement of love poetry in the *Kokinshū* compare Taita Mizuho 太田水穂, "Kokinshū no koiuta 古今集の恋歌." In: *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集. Ed. by Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō kankōkai 日本文学研究資料刊行会. Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōsho 日本文学研究資料叢書. Tōkyō: Yūseidō 有精堂, 1976: 118–32.

[44] Thomas LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan. An Archeology of Sensation and Inscription*. Durham and London: Duke University Pres, 2000: 177.

the twenty scrolls of the anthology as a whole seem to follow a pattern of progression as well, by delineating two cycles of emergence and disappearance emerging from and dissolving into one another, one cycle dominated by seasons, the other by love. The two cycles form "symmetrical pairings, the most evident being the pairings of the seasons and love".[45] Thus spring (scroll 1 and 2) is paired with the first and second scrolls of love (scroll 11 and 12), summer (scroll 3) with the third (scroll 13), autumn (scroll 4) with the fourth and the fifth (scroll 14 and 16), and winter (scroll 6) with sixteenth, which is dedicated to poems on the topic of grief.[46] Moreover, the individual poems are linked by certain motifs and rhetorical techniques and in the hands of the compilers they form a work of art of exquisite refinement. In the following the principles of progression are presented in the study of the love poems in the *Kokinshū.*[47]

In their arrangement, the love poems as a whole depict the following sequence of events:

45 LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, 181-182.

46 On the parallels between the structure of the seasonal books and the love books see also Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 47.

47 In his excellent study entitled "Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, AD 900–1350." Konishi Jin'ichi analysed the structural principles of association and progression, particularly with regard to the *Shinkokinshū*. To my knowledge the most detailed study of the arrangement of the *Kokinshū* poems is that of Matsuda Takeo, a meticulous 700-page treatment of the principles of progression and association. Matsuda Takeo 松田武夫, *Kokinshū no kōzō ni kansuru kenkyū* 古今集の構造に関する研究. 2Nd ed. Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō 風間書房, 1980.

Volume 11: love's dawn: (love from hearsay, love from seeing)

Volume 11/12: love as longing (secret love, love in a dream, unrequited love, disclosure of love, desire for a meeting)

Volume 13: fulfilment of love (morning after love, secret love)

Volume 13/14: farewell to love (emergence of rumour, mourning the loss of love, waiting in vain)

Volume 15: love's end (pain, grief, insight into transitoriness)

The linearisation of the poems allow various sequences of events, this is to say "parallel stories". On the basis of a selection of "ideal-typical" poems from the five volumes of love poetry, I would like to exemplify the course of a courtly love story created by the compilers as having the following sequence of events: love from hearsay/desire for a meeting/morning after love/waiting in vain/insight into transitoriness.

Love's dawn (love from hearsay)

The *Kokinshū's* love poems start with works in which a usually male narrator shows interest in a woman whom he knows only by hearsay. It is the feeling of the first burgeoning of love:

をとにのみ	Though I but know you
きくの白露	through others,
よるはおきて	love has made me
昼は思ひに	like chrysanthemum dew,
あへずけぬべし	rising by night and by day
(Sosei Hōshi, KKS 11: 470)	fading into nothingness.

Love as longing (desire for a meeting)

In the beginning the man hides his feelings. His longing grows over time, however, and his wish for a first meeting becomes more and more urgent:

命やは	What then is this life

何ぞは露の
あだものを
逢ふにし換へば
おしからなくに
(Ki no Tomonori, KKS 12: 615)

men consider so precious?
I would gladly trade
something as transient as dew
For a meeting with my love.

Fulfilment of love (morning after love)

Eventually a meeting of the two lovers occurs and the longing of love is intensified. Instead of extolling the fulfilment of the love meeting, the emphasis is on the painful separation in the morning after and the expression of loss. The view numbers of poems describing love fulfilment corresponds to the seasonal poems as well, wherein the following is a morning after poem (*kinuginu no uta*) in which a man sends his beloved a poem from his home in which he expresses his pain of separation:

明けぬとて
帰る道には
こきたれて
雨も涙も
ふりそほちつゝ
(Fujiwara Toshiyuki, KKS 13:639)

I set out for home,
"Now that day begins to break,"
and as I journey
raindrops and tears together
descend to dampen my robes.

Farewell to love (waiting in vain)

With time, rumours arise at court, or the lover's emotions cool. The meetings between the lovers become less frequent and the woman spends her days melancholically waiting and bitterly weeping:

来ぬ人を
松ゆふぐれの
秋風は
いかに吹けばか
わびしかるらむ
(Anon, KKS 15: 777)

What is the nature of the autumn
wind's blowing
that it brings such grief
when in the dusk I await
someone who fails to appear?

Love's end (insight into transitoriness)

The relationship ends in deep resignation and pondering on the inevitable transitoriness of all being:

思ふとも	What am I to do
かれなむ	with someone who would leave me
人をいかゞせむ	despite my deep love?
飽かずちりぬる	I must simply think of you
花とこそ見め	as flowers that scatter too soon.
(Sosei Hōshi, KKS 15: 799)	

The *Kokinshū* poems were deliberately arranged in this fashion by the compilers in order to portray the burgeoning and the fading of love, a process which parallels the budding of plants in the spring and their withering in autumn. Thanks to this intervention by the compilers, the love poems of the *Kokinshū* display similarities as a genre to the *utamonogatari* 歌物語, i.e. a poetic narrative.

3.3 Arrangement of the poems according to the structural principles of association and difference

The arrangements of poems in the *Kokinshū* is determined not only by "progression"; they conform as well to the principles of "association" and not least of "difference". Individual poems are associatively linked by specific words and themes. Season poems begin with the motif of "snow" and are successively replaced by further motifs such as the "nightingale", "plum blossoms" and "cherry blossoms". Love poems start with the topic of "hearsay", gradually replaced by "secret love" and "love in a dream". This associative sequence is sometimes interrupted by single, thematically unrelated poems to generate "difference" as a means of maintaining tension. Another technique was the incorporation of qualitatively inferior poems to accentuate more successful oeuvres.[48] Moreover, semantically related words are isotopically associated. By means of this thematic

[48] See Konishi Jin'ichi 小西甚一, "Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, AD 900–1350", 78.

and isotopical association, individual poems are closely connected, displaying a "progression" on a second level, that of motif.

Here again it becomes clear as to how meticulously the compilers of the *Kokinshū* must have pondered the arrangement of the individual poems. This is illustrated by the analysis of the following sequence of poems from the category "love poems":

山ざくら
霞の間より
ほのかにも
見てし人こそ
恋しかりけれ
(Ki no Tsurayuki, KKS 11: 479)

I yearn for someone
glimpsed for a fleeting instant,
as through broken haze
we perceive the *dim* outline
of the wild mountain cherry.

たよりにも
あらぬ思ひの
あやしきは
心を人に
つくるなりけり
(Fujiwara no Motokata,
KKS 11: 480)

These feelings of mine
cannot be called *messengers*.
How astonishing
that they should have *delivered*
a heart to my beloved!

初雁の
はつかに声を
きゝしより
中空にのみ
物を思ふ哉
(Ōshikōchi no Mitsune,
KKS 11: 481)

Since *hearing* your voice
Faintly as we *hear* the *cries*
Of the first *wild geese*,
I gaze into *space*, my mind
Filled with idle fantasies.

逢ふことは
雲居はるかに
なる神の
をとにきゝつゝ
恋ひわたる哉

I *go on* loving,
my chances of a meeting
remote as the *sky*
where men hear
the thunder god

(Ki no Tsurayuki, KKS 11: 482) as I *hear* and *hear* of you.

In all four poems, a love is described in its initial stage. The protagonist has hardly even seen the beloved, there is no love relationship and the beloved woman knows nothing of the feelings of the male subject of utterance. The second poem by Ariwara no Motokata forms a contrast to this. However, the poems stands in an associative relation to the third work by Ōshikōchi no Mitsune because of the common topos of "transfer" or "communication".[49] In the second poem this is expressed by the messenger (*tayori*), while in the third poem it is conveyed by the first wild geese (*hatsukari* 初雁), a metaphor for news. The second poem is also associated with the fourth poem through the verb *tsuku*, which can mean both "to adhere" and "to arrive", and the verb *wataru*, which can mean "to cross", "to connect" or "to continue". In the meaning of "to connect" the term forms as it were a transition to the following poem KKS 11: 483, which is not quoted here and in which the verb *kakeru* (to hang up, to be connected with) and the noun *tama no o* 玉の緒 (thread of life) occur, i.e. words associated with the notion of connection. The use of all these terms of connection and transfer suggest the gradual progression of the love relationship, in which a connection with the love object is sought. Further associative words can be identified: Poems three and four are linked associatively by the nouns *koe* 声 (voice) and *oto* をと (sound), while the first, third and fourth poems are linked by the verb *miru* 見る (to see) and *kiku* きく (to hear).[50] Finally, the third and fourth poems are connected by the nouns *nakazora* 中空 (sky/space) and *kumoi* 雲居 (clouds/sky) and by the emphatic final particle *kana* 哉.

"Associations" and "pivot words" (paronomasia), the so-called *engo* 縁語 and *kakekotoba* 掛詞, are specific rhetorical devices of the *Kokinshū*. The remarkable virtuosity of the compilers becomes apparent by the fact that they revive these techniques by means of the specific associative linkage of individual poems on the meta-level of

[49] See Matsuda, *Kokinshū no kōzō ni kansuru kenkyū*:, 36.
[50] Ibid.: 436–37.

the anthology's composition, thus providing these techniques with the principle of "progression".

In conclusion, it can be stated here that the arrangement of poems by means of the principles of "progression", "association", and "difference" on a "second level" is highly innovative, and to my knowledge has no antecedent in Chinese poetry. It is true that, as Alexander Beecroft has shown for the *Shi Jing* in his article in this volume, the composition of Chinese anthologies and even of their commentaries may have a narrative structure. For example, the poems of the *Aires of the States*, the first section of the *Shi Jing* are ordered and discussed in the Mao interpretation embodied in the Mao Preface geographically and chronologically to encode a narrative of the rise and the fall of the Zhou dynasty. Drawing on principles of Ruist ethics and political philosophy, these poems thus create individualised "scenes of authorship" along the lines of a Confucian narrative of historical decline, designed as a moral and political lesson for future readers.[51] Yet, to my knowledge, Chinese poetry provides no precedent of poems arranged to form a seasonal cycle, much less a love narrative.

The composition of the *Kokinshū's* love poetry basically constitutes a processual transposition of the poetic principles of the *Kokinshū* style to the meta-level of the anthology. These poetic principles are partially formulated in Ki no Tsurayuki's preface to the anthology. The following transmissions can be formulated:

- Transmission of pre-texts (hypotext) to the meta-level of the anthology (hypertext)

Transmission of a love cycle to a natural phenomenon (seasonal cycle) by processual alignment of 360 poems

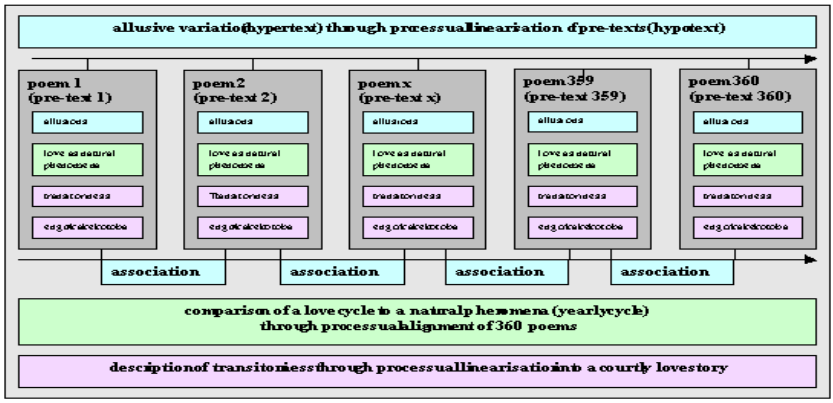
Transmission of transitoriness by processual linearisation into a courtly love story

Transmission of "associations" (*engo*) and "pivot words" (*kakekotoba*)

The transmission of poetic devices to the meta-level of the anthology's composition can be graphically illustrated as follows:

51 See Alexander Beecroft, *Authorship in the Canon of Songs (Shi Jing)*.

Graphic 1 – processual transmission of poetic devices to the meta-level of the anthology



4. Analysis: Authorial presence, narratological implications, and author figurations of the Kokinshū's compilers

4.1. Authorial presence of the compilers of the Kokinshū

I would now like to enlarge the perspective to an encompassing investigation of the authorial role of the compilers of the *Kokinshū*, by applying some of the parameters of authorial functions and figurations elaborated by Steineck and Schwermann in the introduction to this volume. Hence, I will focus on the implications of the poetic traditions and the socio-historical background of authorial subjectivity. I will mention paratextual devices for the conceptualisation of authorship by focussing on the preface of the *Kokinshū*. Lastly, I will explicate the narratologcal implications of the specific arrangement of the *Kokinshū* by linking them to author figurations framed by Jannidis.

The *Kokinshū* as a whole is clearly embedded in its historical, cultural, and political context and does not constitute a unitary creation developed by its compilers. It exposes poetic references to the Chinese poetic tradition, especially to the so-called *yibang* style 倚傍 (oblique style) which is typical for the court poetry of the Southern Liang Dynasty (502–557). Poetic models were the famous *Wenxuan* 文

選 (Selected Literature, 520) as well as the less known *Yutai xinyong* 玉臺新詠 (New Songs from a Jade Terrace, 545), an anthology consisting of so-called Palace Style poetry (*gongtishi* 宮体詩), with most of the poems being love poems written in the *yibang* style. The imitation of Chinese poetry becomes evident in the inclusion of a preface as well as of prefaces to the individual poems. Chinese borrowings are also reflected in the poems' rhetoric, such as a subdued, elegant and graceful tone, an indirect and blurred diction, an intellectual approach to the world by means of ratiocination, self-reflection and contemplation manifested in musing on the relationship between cause and effect, the usage of logic and the emphasis on wit. Chinese influences are also indicated in a notably subjective approach to the phenomenal world, a lamenting tone as well as the usage of rhetorical techniques such as "personification" (*gijinhō* 擬人法), "allegories" (*mitate* 見たて), "pivot words" and "associations." Thus, the *Kokinshū* style clearly reveals an assimilation of the Chinese *yibang* style to the Japanese *waka*.[52] This predominance of Chinese influence in the Japanese *waka* of the *Kokinshū* not only restricted the individual creativity of the authors, but affected the selection process of the compilers as well.

At the same time, however, the *Kokinshū* poems as well as the compilation as such reflect a search for an authentic, Japanese form of poetry composition. In the formation process of a specific "Japanese" poetry that distinguishes itself from the Chinese model and elevates Japanese *waka* to the aesthetic level of the Chinese *shi*, the compilers of the *Kokinshū*, notably Ki no Tsurayuki, played a leading role. This shift away from the Chinese model was caused by the decline of the Tang Dynasty (618–907), among other factors, which prompted a return to native ideals: After 150 years of exclusive poetry writing in Chinese, later termed as the "the dark age of the national style" (*kokufū ankoku jidai*) 国風暗黒時代), Japanese poets longed for an authentic lyrical expression in their own language.

These transformations are shown in the compilers' individual poems as well as in their selection and composition of the *Kokinshū*,

[52] See Konishi, "The Genesis of the Kokinshū Style." See also Müller, *Sehnsucht nach Illusion? Klassische japanische Traumlyrik aus geschlechtsspezifischer und literaturgeschichtlicher Perspektive*, 100–101.

forming a highly interesting cross-relation. On the level of the poems, apart from the usage of Japanese language for poetry composition, the shift is apparent in a blurring of the boundary lines between the natural world and human experience and in a strong tendency to treat the subject of nature and men in terms of the passing of time.[53] The modifications of the compilers become evident in the selection process. On the one hand, they exclusively selected poems written in Japanese; on the other hand, they chose poems which corresponded to the poetic aesthetics formulated by Ki no Tsurayuki in his preface. Moreover, as shown hereinabove, these shifts crystallise in the highly thematic structure of the *Kokinshū* as a whole as well as in the unique and witty arrangement of the poems alongside the principles of progression (passing of time), association (wit), and contrast, even composing narrative units, something not to be found in Chinese anthologies in this form. By freely arranging selected poems into a narrative and topically associating them, thus giving them unity, the compilers exhibited authorial "responsibility" for their composition, which according to Simone Winko constitutes one of the main authorial functions.[54] All these interventions resulted in the creation by the compilers of another authorial function, namely "difference", especially in contrast to Chinese anthologies, but also in contrast to the *Man'yōshū*.

The most distinctive manifestation of authorial presence and responsibility can be found in the paratext of the *Kokinshū*. The compilers' authorial presence is displayed in the prefaces to the individual poems, where they specify the author's names in more than 50% of the poems and explain their topic or mention the circumstances of their composition, thus contributing decisively to the understanding of the *Kokinshū* poems. The most distinctive manifestation of authorial presence, however, is in the preface in which Ki no Tsurayuki formulated the first poetics of Japanese literary history. In his famous preface Tsurayuki gave poetry an important psychological, social and aesthetic function and established one of the cent-

[53] Konishi, "The Genesis of the Kokinshū Style", 64.

[54] Winko, "Autor-Funktionen. Zur argumentativen Verwendung von Autorkonzepten in der gegenwärtigen literaturwissenschaftlichen Interpretationspraxis", 344.

ral characteristics of classical Japanese poetry, namely the tendency to treat the subject of man's transitoriness by the description of natural phenomena. He does so by defining the nature of poetry as the expression of the human heart (*kokoro*) through the description of natural phenomena by the means of words (*kotoba*). Tsurayuki not only took responsibility for the evaluation of poetry by these means, but also set the aesthetic basis of poetry composition for many future generations by selecting poems according to this method. In addition, Tsurayuki clearly marked authorial presence by personally judging several poems, past and present, in his preface.

Further paratextual evidences of authorial presence in the preface are explicit markers such as the naming of the compilers and the date of Daigo-Tennō's order to compile the anthology:

> On the eighteenth day of the *Fourth Month of Engi 5* (905) he commanded *Ki no Tomonori*, Senior Secretary of the Ministry of Private Affairs, *Ki no* Tsurayuki, Chief of the Documents Division, *Ōshikōchi no Mitsune*, Former Junior Clerk of Kai Province and *Mibu no Tadamine*, functionary in the Headquarters of the Palace Guards, Right Division, to present to him old poems not included in the *Man'yōshū* as well as *our own*. He let us *choose*[55] poems on [...]. These collected poems *will last* as long as the waters flowing at the foot of the mountains; they are numerous as the grains of sand on the shore. *There will be* no complaints that they are like the shallows of the Asuka River; *they will give pleasure* until the pebbles grow into boulders (*Kokinshū* 1984: 46–47; Jap: 1989: 16–17).

This information allows us to date the text to the beginning of the 10th century. The specific naming of the compilers in the preface gives the work a spatio-temporal fixation and allows us to substantiate references to the social or cognitive content. All this authorial information also supplies reference texts, for instance the *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 (The Tosa Diary, 935), written by Ki no Tsurayuki, as well as reference to texts the compilers responded to, such as the *Wenxuan* and the *Yutai xinyong*. The compilers also create a context, by referring to their knowledge and the ideas to which they relate.[56]

[55] I have slightly changed the English translation of Rodd/Henkenius to make their original rendering, "we have chosen", more precise.

[56] See also the Introduction.

The above quotation is interesting for two other reasons. First, it shows Tsurayuki's self-dissociation as the preface's author by referring to himself in the third person, even though the preface is explicitly attributed to Ki no Tsurayuki at the very end. Second, Ki no Tsurayuki personally assumes responsibility for the selection of the *Kokinshū* poems and their quality in the name of the compilers. Moreover, he already anticipates its "interpretation" by emphasising that the poems selected will last for a long time, will meet with no complaints and will give pleasure.

In his preface Tsurayuki also uses explicit markers for authorial presence such as first person pronouns. Apart from the expression "our own" (*mizukara no*) in the quotation above, there are further markers for authorial presence in the preface: Tsurayuki attempts to illustrate the lack of understanding of the ancient songs and of poetry by giving some examples: "I would like to give some examples, but I will exclude those poets of high rank and office, whom I cannot criticise lightly.[57] Here Tsurayuki clearly exhibits authorial "presence" as well as "responsibility" since he is well aware of the fact that criticising poets of high rank would not be to his advantage.

In the following, I would like to schematise authorial presence in the preface of the *Kokinshū* by applying the operational model of authorial presence developed by Steineck and Schwermann in the introduction to this volume:

Table 4 – Authorial presence in the preface of the Kokinshū

Authorial function	**intratextual marker (explicit)**	**intratextual mark (oblique)**
classification	Name of author: Ki no Tsurayuki	X
interpretation (attribution of context)	Place and time of textual production: Fourth Month of Engi 5 (905) (= command for compilation) mentioning of personal	linguistic competence, cognitive horizon: usage of the poetic diction of 10th century Japan, mentioning of past poets and poems oblique self references:

[57] *Kokinshū* 1984: 43, Jap: 13.

	relations: Ōshikōchi no Mitsune, Ki no Tomonori, Mibu no Tadamine	deictic phrases (nowadays, in the reign of the present sovereign); verbal aspect indicating social positioning; addressing the readership (those who know poetry)
Origination	Testimonies [author reference]: I will exclude, we include our own poems	linguistic competence, cognitive horizon: ?
responsibility : authorial mode		oblique self reference: indications of perceptive/cognitive activity in relation to text/content
Origination	authorial self-reference in relation to content ("I say, [author name] says"): Tsurayuki and others (=we) rejoice to be born in this era	X
responsibility : source of innovation, insight, composition		
responsibility : source of meaning	authorial self reference + intentional phrases: we feel the ear of the world	oblique self reference: inconspicuous intentionality
responsibility : source of axiology	authorial self-reference + evaluative phrases: X	oblique self references: evaluative and emotive perspectivation: "naturally", "really"; "sadly" etc.
responsibility : source of knowledge	explicit corrections of quoted material: X	explanations, commentaries, quotations: explanation, commentaries and quotations of several poems and poets, past and present

4.2 Narratological implications and authorial figurations: the compilers of the Kokinshū as "narrators" exemplified by the love poems

Through the processual arrangement of poems the compilers of the *Kokinshū* created a sequence of events which can be analysed narra-

tologically[58] and which contains, though in a rather abstract way, all the basic narrative units defined by William Labov in his sociolinguistic model of narrative analysis. Labov defines six structural units of a narrative: abstract; orientation; complicating action; evaluation; resolution; and coda.[59] As in many fictional works of Japanese literature the love poems of the *Kokinshū* do not contain any concrete abstract or orientation. The narrative starts with a male narrator who becomes interested in a woman by hearsay. The complication of the story sets in with the arising of rumours at court and intensifies with the fading of the man's love, leaving the woman waiting and lonely. The evaluation, resolution and coda can be found at the very end of the love poems, where the courtly love story ends and the lovers sorrowfully muse about the inevitable transitoriness of love, showing their insight into the evanescence of being.

In my view, it is this innovative linearisation of individual poems into a meaningful narrative that allows the argument that the compilers of the *Kokinshū,* in the operational act of their compilation, were not merely mechanical "aligners of pre-texts", fulfilling only functions of "selection" and "arrangement". By their specific selection and arrangement they also created "meaning", "innovation" and "insight". The narrative transformations, that is to say the artistic operations of "selection" and "arrangement" in the production process of the narrative, may be analysed as follows.

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[58] According to the criteria developed by Genette in his work *Le discours du récit*. The "order" of the *Kokinshū* is chronological, the "duration" is scenic with implicit ellipses, the "frequency" is repetitive, and the "time of narration" is simultaneous. The "voice" is auto-diegetic, the "focalization" is a variable internal focalisation (polymodality). The function of the narrator is one of conventionalised courting, and the narrative addressee is the Heian court and, on the second level, or the level of the poems, the love partner.

[59] See William Labov, "The Transformation of Experience in Narrative Syntax." In: *Language in the Inner City. Studies in Black English Vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1972: 354–96, here 363.

4.2.1 Operations of the Kokinshū's compilers: "selection" and "arrangement"

Selection

From a large stock of existing text elements, in our case poems (=happenings), the compilers select 360 love poems within a given literary convention, namely 10th century Japan.[60] The selected text elements at the structuralist level represent the happenings, i.e. "stages" of a courtly love relationship as defined above. The poems are, as common in Japanese poetry, "autodiegetic."[61]
By making the selection, the compilers are already performing perspectivation, as they choose both women's and men's perspectives. By selecting individual poems the compilers also control the extension, shortening, and omissions of the narration. By including a large selection of poems expressing longing and separation, they create a narrative extension. By largely ignoring those poems which express the fulfilment of love, they produce a strong shortening effect.

Arrangement

In a second step, the compilers arrange their selection by means of chronological linearisation into a scenic, meaningful sequence.[62] They do so by arranging the poems into the aforementioned sequence of happenings of a courtly love story, ending in sorrowful separation. At this level too, the compiler intervenes in perspectivation.[63] Given the mixing of poems by men and by women and the fact that some works are written from the fictitious perspective of a woman, the narrative perspective in the individual poems is constantly shifting between female and male interior perspectives.

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[60] See Wolf Schmid, *Elemente der Narratologie*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005.

[61] An autodiegetic narrator is a special form of the homodiegetic narrator. It refers to a narrator who is also the protagonist. See Gérard Genette, *Die Erzählung.* 2nd ed. Munich: W. Fink, 1998: 176.

[62] Schmid, *Elemente der Narratologie*, 262.

[63] On the perspectivation in the love poetry of the Kokinshū see also Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four seasons*, 47.

When describing the early stage of love (interest, longing) the compilers mainly choose poems written from a man's inner perspective (narrator=male). In poems which express love fulfilment they adopt an alternating perspective, whereas in the final stage of the love relationship (pain/grief) the majority of texts adopt a female "focalisation" (narrator=female), to use Genette's terminology.[64] As the poems are written by different authors, it can be assumed that the subject of utterance is different in each poem, although this cannot be proved given the brevity of the poems on the narrative level. In terms of narrative theory, the poems could be interpreted as changes of perspective between a male and a female subject of utterance whose identities remain the same throughout. By stringing together poems which express the same emotional state (e.g. secret love; waiting for a man), from a variety of inner perspectives, they thus create a collage-effect, i.e. a "repetitive" simultaneous technique weaving different strands of consciousness in a chronological order. To use the terminology of narrative theory, this would be a "polymodal focalisation".[65]

By their selection and arrangement of poems, the compilers thus fulfil the figurations of "selection" and "arrangement". In a next step the specific mode of selection and arrangement effects the "meaning", "insight", and "innovation" of the artistic product.

4.2.2 "Meaning", "Insight" and "Innovation" as a consequence of the operations "selection" and "arrangement"

Meaning

By the selection and linearisation of poems into a narrative, that is, into a "love story", the compilers gave their compositions a new meaning. Narrative techniques such as extensions and gender-specific focalisations help to create the aesthetic ideal of a courtly love in the Heian period, in which men court women but then give their heart to another woman, while the first woman waits alone in her room and mourns. The "waiting woman (*matsu onna* 待つ女) would soon become a topic of prose literature as well, notably of the so-

[64] Genette, *Die Erzählung*, 134–137.

[65] Ibid.: 141–49.

called diary literature written by women (*joryū nikki bungaku* 女流日記文学), and she would eventually become an ideal of femininity per se.

By their arrangement, the compilers could also intervene in the reading of their own and others' poems. Sometimes it seems as if the compilers, by arranging the poems in a certain way, gave them a new meaning. We find, for example, numerous poems under the stage of "love longing" that could equally well express longing for a person whose love has already grown cold (=love farewell). This would confirm that the majority of the *Kokinshū* love poems are adaptations of Chinese boudoir poetry. One example is as follows:

明けたてば	When a new day dawns,
蟬のおりはへ	like a wailing cicada
鳴きくらし	I spend it in tears,
夜は蛍の	and by night my smouldering heart
もえこそわたれ	emulates the firefly's glow.
(Anon, KKS 11: 543)	

The compilers of the *Kokinshū* also seem to have allowed themselves the liberty of classifying as love poems lyrics which were originally intended as season poems. The following is an example from the fourth volume of love poems:

誰が里に	Your song, O cuckoo,
夜離れをしてか	would have me believe you sleep
郭公	only in my tree,
たゞこゝにしも	but whose might be the dwelling
寝たるこゑする	you fail to visit tonight?
(Anon, KKS 14: 710)	

The same poem is found in the *Shinsen Manyōshū* 新選万葉集 from the 9th century, where it is classified as a summer poem, and in the *Kokin wakarokujō* 古今和歌六帖 from the 10th century, where it is collocated with a series of poems with the motif of the nightingale (*hototogisu* 郭公). According to the *kokugaku* scholar Motoori Norinaga

本居宣長 (1730–1801), this means that the poem was wrongly attributed to the love poems in the *Kokinshū*.[66]

In many cases the season poems cannot be definitely distinguished from love poems because, as mentioned above, in classical Japanese love poems the feelings of the subject of utterance are often expressed only indirectly by reference to a natural phenomenon. It is not possible to judge here as to whether the author of the poem intended his work to be a nature poem or a love poem. The point to bear in mind here is simply that, as Alexander Beecroft has shown for Chinese poetry in his article in this volume,[67] by the way in which they arranged the poems the compilers could have a decisive influence on the manner in which the recipients read them, thus affecting their "meaning".

Another intervention into "meaning" was caused by the incorporation of contextualising introductions to individual poems, thus intensifying the narrative character of the poems. The love poetry of the *Kokinshū* may, therefore, be regarded as a precursor to the genre of the so-called *utamonogtari*. In this context it should be stressed again that, as discussed above, the introductions written by the compilers are sometimes essential for the adequate comprehension of a poem's meaning. Finally, by incorporating almost 20 per cent of their own poems, the compilers took also part in the constitution of meaning of their own poems.

Insight

By linearising 360 poems into a love story which ends in separation, thus comparing it to a seasonal circle, the compilers communicate an insight into the universal transitoriness of being. In this sense, the progressive composition of the love poetry may be read as an allegory of transience. The compilers adopt, by shortenings and extensions, an evaluative perspective[68] that, although not subjective, is conventionalised: It is not the expression of love fulfilment that is

[66] Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長, "Kokinshū tōkagami 古今集遠鏡." In: Motoori Norinaga zenshū 本居宣長全集. Ed. by Ōkubo Tadashi 大久保正. Vol. 3. Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō 筑摩書房, 1969: 1–294, here 192.

[67] See Beecroft, *Authorship in the Canon of Songs (Shi Jing)*.

[68] Schmid, *Elemente der Narratologie*, 256.

regarded as important but the pain of love (=aesthetics of despair) caused by the absence of the lover. In this way the compilers communicate an insight into the painfulness of life. Literary scholar Nomura Seiichi refers in this context to the love poetry of the *Kokinshū* as an "aesthetics of despair" *(zetsubō no bigaku* 絶望の美学).[69] Moreover, by incorporating numerous poems which describe rumours at court, the compilers manifest an awareness of social conflicts. Finally, by incorporating a large number of poems on the topic of the "waiting woman" – according to the Chinese model most of them would have been written by male poets – they convey social values.

Innovation

By linearising poems into a love story with an alternating and gender-specific focalisation as well as narrative extensions and shortenings the compilers of the *Kokinshū* created a highly innovative anthology composition without predecessors. The innovative potency of the compilers is also displayed, as discussed above, in the processual transmission of poetic devices of the *Kokinshū* style to the meta-level of the anthology.

All of the features discussed hereinabove illustrate that the compilers of the *Kokinshū* exhibited a highly subjective and autonomous approach in their composition. By the specific selection and arrangement of poems they created a meaningful, innovative and insight-conveying composition. The order type[70] or the text genre is already predetermined by the imperial order to make the compilation, but the form and design of the anthology is largely the intentional work of the compilers. Just as an author chooses individual words from a given stock of lexical items, arranging them into sentences and eventually into texts, the compiler of Japanese poetry anthologies operates with slightly larger units of meaning, i.e. with

[69] Quoted from Shimada Ryōji 島田良二, "Rokkasen jidai 六歌仙時代." In: *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō* 国文学: 解釈と鑑賞, *tokushū: Kokinshū no sekai* 特集：古今集の世界 (February 1970): 42–48, here 43.

[70] See Jannidis, "Der nützliche Autor. Möglichkeiten eines Begriffs zwischen Text und historischem Kontext", 380.

poems, but juggles them almost as freely as the author and combines them into a meaningful narration by writing introductions to individual poems and integrating his own poems into the collection. The compilers of the *Kokinshū* thus fulfil all of the five author figurations defined by Fotis Jannidis.[71]

Table 5 – author figurations of the Kokinshū's compilers applied to Jannidis' model of author figurations

author figurations (Jannidis)	Fulfilled	not fulfilled	reason
figuration of selection	X		compiler selects poems from an existing stock, expressing the structural elements of courtly love
figuration of arrangement	X		compiler arranges the selected poems into a courtly love story
figuration of insight	X		by the arrangement of the selected poems into a courtly love story ending in separation, compiler communicates insight into the transitoriness of being; he conveys insight into social conflicts by including a large number of poems expressing social restrictions
figuration of innovation	X		by the arrangement of the selected poems into a courtly love story compiler creates an innovative form of anthology
figuration of meaning	X		by the arrangement of the selected poems into a courtly love story compilers endow their compositions with a new meaning; by arrangement

[71] The compilers of the Kokinshū also possess all four attributes enumerated by Simone Winko as productive functions of authorship: *origination* (writing the preface; producing prefaces to individual poems, composing their own poems for inclusion in the anthology); *selection*: (selection of the poems); *organization* (organisation or arrangement of the poems); and *generation of meaning* (linearisation of the poems to form a courtly love story). Winko, "Autor-Funktionen. Zur argumentativen Verwendung von Autorkonzepten in der gegenwärtigen literaturwissenschaftlichen Interpretationspraxis", 348–49.

			and introductions compilers give individual poems a specific meaning

The compilers freely "select" individual works from a stock of existing poems within a given literary convention and they "arrange" these into a courtly love story. They convey an insight into the transitoriness and the painfulness of being by the linearisation into a love story which ends in separation as well as by the emphasis on love pain. Moreover, by selecting a large number of poems which express social restrictions, they offer insight into social conflicts. The compilers also fulfil the function of innovation by the processual alignment of the chosen text elements into a narrative. At the same time, they give the text a new meaning. Finally, by writing their own prefaces to the poems, by incorporating their own poems and, in some cases, by assigning poems that could just as well be nature poems to the category of love poetry, they play a crucial role in establishing the meaning of individual poems.

With reference to the pattern of "origination and responsibility in text production" presented by Steineck and Schwermann in the introduction to this volume, the compiler of classical anthologies deviates from this scheme, which assigns the compiler merely the originating activities of "organisation" (selection of elements/editing/compiling) and "composition" (enunciation/drafting). Ki no Tsurayuki and the co-compilers may also be defined as "inventors" because they assemble individual poems to form a unique narrative. The compilers are therefore involved in "organisation", "composition" and invention (insight, knowledge) alike.

5. Conclusion

By referring to pre-texts Roland Barthes degraded the author to a compiler. Applying Fotis Jannidis' authorial model as well as Steineck and Schwermann's model of authorial presence, I have shown that in specific cases compilers, depending on the manner of selecting and arranging pre-texts, may themselves fulfil the criteria for seminal author figurations.

In my view, it is basically the "narration" created by the compilers which renders the anthology a meaningful, innovative, and insight-conveying piece of art. This entitles us to view them as creators or as "authors" and not merely as mechanical compilers of pre-texts, although they should adequately be called collective authors. In this context, however, it should be mentioned that the *Kokinshū* is mainly associated with its main compiler Ki no Tsurayuki to this day.

By their artistic intervention the compilers fulfilled the order of the emperor, who wanted them to create an autonomous Japanese poetry. At the same time, they established the structural and aesthetic foundations of classical Japanese literature for many centuries. The configurative characteristics of the *Kokinshū,* notably the principles of "progression", "association" and "difference", were adapted and gradually refined in the 20 imperial anthologies that followed. In the *Shinkokinshū* at the beginning of the 13th century, these principles attain a formal perfection. As Konishi Jin'ichi has shown, in the *Shinkokinshū* the compilers sometimes preferred poems of relatively lower aesthetic value in order to guarantee a successful association of succeeding poems.[72] This also has the contrastive effect of highlighting outstanding poems and thus focusing on certain authors. The *Gyokuyōshū* (1313–1314) and *Fūgashū* (1344–1346) in the 14th century are the culminations of subtlety and complexity in terms of the ways in which the principles of progression and association are applied. In the *Gyokuyōshū* the compilers sometimes combined the poems in such a way that they form pairs which allude to previous poems and at the same time pay homage to earlier poets.[73] These principles of sequence, association and contrast developed in the anthologies were later to play a key role in the emergence of Japanese chain poetry (*renga*).

An analysis of the development of the structures of imperial anthologies thus reveals a gradually emerging awareness of authorship in compilers. This awareness seems increasingly to supplant the role and the intention of the authors of the individual poems. In

[72] Konishi, "Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, AD 900–1350", 73.

[73] Ibid.: 115–118.

this respect the *Kokinshū* can be seen as the "birthplace" of the compiler as author in the lyric genre.

In this respect, the compilers of the *Kokinshū* and notably Ki no Tsurayuki might be defined as "founders of discursivity" in the meaning of Foucault.[74] For this, among others, the *Kokinshū* is considered the most important Japanese anthology to this day. The esteem which the *Kokinshū* has continuously enjoyed essentially relies on the achievements of the compilers. Their composition is an oeuvre admired for its meaningful, innovative and insight-conveying features to this day.

Thus Ki no Tsurayuki's prophecies, formulated in his famous preface, seem fulfilled: As quoted above, Tsurayuki predicted that the anthology would last as long as the waters flowing at the foot of the mountains and that they would give pleasure until the pebbles grew into boulders.[75] In this remark, Ki no Tsurayuki contrasted his insight into the transitoriness of being, so prominent in the *Kokinshū*, against the imperishability of art, and set the stage for his own immortality.

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[74] See Michel Foucault, *Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?: séance du 22 février 1969*. Paris: Colin, 1969.

[75] *Kokinshū* 1989: 16–17.

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FLUIDITY OF BELONGING AND CREATIVE APPROPRIATION:

AUTHORSHIP AND TRANSLATION IN AN EARLY SINIC SONG

("KONGMUDOHA KA"公無渡河歌)*

Marion Eggert

Korean literary history does not offer many sources for witnessing the birth of the author, as people on the Korean peninsula in all likelihood learnt to read and write after having come into contact with a fully-fledged literary tradition, complete with a full concept of individual authorship. At best we can, through the broken mirror of a limitedly transmitted literary heritage from early Korea, vaguely observe the vestiges of older ideas stemming from oral traditions that associated textual *authorship* closely with political or religious *authority*.

Thus, the short four-line poem that is usually pointed out as the earliest literary text from Korea is attributed to King Yuri 琉璃王 of Koguryŏ (trad. r. 19 BC to 18 AD). It is a four line, five syllable Chinese poem about a couple of orioles ("Hwangjo ka." 黃鳥歌) which he supposedly composed on the occasion of having lost his Han-Chinese wife, who had been driven out of the house during his absence by his first wife, a Koguryŏ woman. Seeing that this poem has come down to us by way of the *Samguk Sagi* 三國史記 ("History of the [Korean] Three Kingdoms." dated 1145), it is obviously questionable as to how trustworthy this tradition is in terms of literary history; however, the source certainly alerts us to the significance of kingly authorship for transmitting the literary text at all. Similarly, the oldest extant poems in the Korean language – sadly, still not completely decipherable due to a broken tradition of reading the Chinese characters that were borrowed to denote Korean sounds – are mostly attributed to princes, gods and ghosts, shamans, and other powerful figures.[1]

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[1] This is the case for most of the 14 such poems transmitted through another early historical work, the *Samguk Yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), authored by the monk Iryŏn at the end of the 13th century. The purported time of genesis of these poems is the Three Kingdom's period, roughly 4th to 7th century AD. Eleven more Korean language poems of roughly the same literary form, authored

It would be fascinating to track the genesis of a more craft-oriented concept of authorship in Korea, an endeavour that would have to be closely connected to an investigation of the social history of writing in ancient Korea. Such a task is, however, again greatly impeded by the relative dearth of materials of any kind, historical or literary, written down in Korea prior to Koryŏ times (936–1398), except for Buddhist sources and some epigraphy; pre-Koryŏ literati writings have survived only in a large collection prepared in the early 15th century, which we cannot totally trust as a source unaltered by later tastes.

Instead, I will, therefore, turn to the second item of "early Korean poetry", a poem that is definitely of ancient origin, but whose "Korean" credentials are more questionable: the poem known as "Kongmudoha ka" or "Konghuin" 箜篌引 in Korean and usually referred to as "Konghou yin" 箜篌引 ("Lament for the *konghou* lute") in Chinese. Having been transmitted through Chinese sources – the earliest of the 2nd century AD – but being embedded in a story that marks what usually is understood as "the Chaoxian/ Chosŏn river-crossing" as its place of origin, it became an object of cultural appropriation by intellectuals of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910) and was fully integrated into Korean literary history in the 20th century, although some Korean scholars have argued against this claim. However, the contestation of the poem's authorship is not restricted to those far later times when recognisable precursors to the modern nations had formed; rather the question of authorship is the main theme of the frame story itself, and informs the change that the latter underwent. The sources of this song and the ways they have been read can thus serve to ponder questions about the constituents of authorship in pre-modern East Asia as well as links of the "birth of the author" to issues of gender, social status, and

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by the eminent monk Kyunyŏ (923–973), are found in his biography written about a century later, so again religious authority seems to be the main reason for transmittance. For linguistic studies of this early Korean poetry, see Werner Sasse, *Studien zur Entzifferung der Schrift altkoreanischer Dichtung*, vol. 2: Silla-Hyangga, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989, and An Jung-hee, *Studien zur Entzifferung der Schrift altkoreanischer Dichtung. Bd. I: Zur Entschlüsselung altkoreanischer Lieder: die Koryŏ-Hyangga*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007.

ethnic identity. They also touch on the intricate relationship between the roles of "author" and "translator", or in the words of Confucius, the relationship between "transmitting" and "creating", and thus may serve to point to an important border area of the question of concepts of authorship. Especially, it will become apparent that the construction of authorship serves purposes of appropriation and cultural ownership of the text, thus relating to the latter's *significance*, rather than answering questions on creative process or auctorial intention and, therefore, *meaning* of the text.

1. The song, the sources, and the Chinese literary tradition

The song in question is of utmost simplicity: a short poem of the *yuefu* type, four lines at four syllables each, rhyming throughout. In translation, it looks more like a script for a dramatic scene than a poem:

> Lord, don't cross the river!
> The lord does cross the river
> falls into the river and dies
> what, lord, is to be done?

Although there have been some earlier and contemporary scholarship attempts to find deep meaning in these lines,[2] it is obvious that

[2] E.g., Kim Haksŏng "Konghuin-ŭi sin koch'al." In: Kwanak ŏmun yŏn'gu 3 (1978): 189–99, regards the poem as a prototype of dramatic expression of the conflict between a transcendentalist and a realist attitude that thus touches readers even today (p. 197, 199). Especially in China there seems to exist a tradition of reading much feeling into the poem itself: an essay by Liang Shiqiu on how Liang Qichao taught this poem in class, "Ji Liang Rengong xiansheng de yi ci jiangyan" 记梁任公先生的一次演讲 is common high school reading. Liang Qichao's reading of the poem can be glimpsed in his essay "Zhongguo yunwen litou suo biaoxian de qinggan" 中国韵文里头所表现的情感, see Paula M. Varsano, *Tracking the banished immortal: The poetry of Li Bai and its critical reception*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press 2003: 133 f. The Chinese essayist Yong Rong (雍容 1976–) relates her deep emotional response on the first contact with the poem and treats it as a masterpiece throughout in her essay "Gong wu du he" in *Caicai nüse,* Hainan chubanshe 2004. Chŏng Hayŏng, "Kongmudoha ka-ŭi sŏnggyŏk-kwa ŭimi." *Han'guk*

they could make a career in literary history only through the good services of the more elaborate narrative in which they became embedded and that served to make them readable and meaningful.

The earliest source for "Kongmudoha ka" is to be found in the *Qincao* 琴操 ("Music of the *qin*-lute") by Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133–192 AD) of the Later Han, a scholar famed for his own writing as well as for early attempts to classify literary genres.[3] The *Qincao,* a small booklet of anecdotes concerning different kinds of songs and music for the lute, may well have served the purpose of integrating the *qin* and its music into the moral cosmology the construction of which was so characteristic of Han thought.[4] It introduces the "Lament for the *konghou* lute" the following way:

> "Konghou yin" was authored by the Chaoxian ford soldier Huo-li-zi-gao (Kwak-ni-cha-go). When Zi-gao loosened his boat in the morning and rowed it, a madman with disheveled hair, a jar in hand, waded into the river to cross it. His wife ran after him to hold him back, but before she had reached him, he fell into the river and died. She, then, implored heaven and wailed, beat the *konghou* and sang: "Lord, don't cross the river! The lord did cross the river. The lord fell and died; what, my lord, can I do about it!" When she had ended her song, she threw herself into the river and died. Zi-gao, who heard this, was saddened. He grasped the *qin*, beat it, and composed the *Konghou yin* in order to picture/reproduce her singing. It is called/he called it the 'Song of Lord, don't cross the river'.
>
> 箜篌引者朝鮮津卒藿里子高所作也 子高晨刺船而濯 有一狂夫被髮提壺涉河而渡 其妻追止之不及 墮河而死 乃呼天噓唏 鼓箜篌而歌

kojŏn siga chakp'um non 1, Seoul: Chimmundang 1992: 13–23, in contrast, is recommendable for noting the blandness of the poem if read without the frame narrative (p. 18).

[3] See Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur*, Bern et al.: 1990: 90 and 140. Actually, Cai Yong's authorship of the *Qincao* was disputed for several reasons, but the compilers of the *Siku quanshu* came to the conclusion that this ascription of authorship is to be trusted. In the light of the story in question here, it is interesting to note that Cai Yong's own daughter, Cai Yan, was abducted by Xiongnu soldiers and is traditionally regarded the author of a long dirge as well as a couple of other poems.

[4] This is what the preface by Ma Ruichen (馬瑞辰 1775–1853) suggests, probably on the basis of the impressions conveyed by the anecdotes themselves. It certainly matches with the undertone of the narrative in question here.

> 曰 公無渡河公竟渡河公墮而死當奈公何 曲終自投河而死 子高聞而悲之 乃援琴而鼓之 作箜篌引以象其聲 所爲公無渡河曲也

This story was retold two times during the Jin dynasty, at first – and more importantly – during Western Jin by Cui Piao (崔豹 fl. 300) in his *Gujin zhu* 古今注. Although Cui Piao's version clearly depends on Cai Yong's story and the basic plot as well as the poem itself remain intact, it differs in a number of respects, first of all ascription of authorship:

> "Konghou yin" was authored by Liyu, wife of the Chaoxian ford soldier Huo-li-zi-gao. When Zi-gao rose in the morning, loosened his boat and rowed it, there was a white-haired madman, with dishevelled hair and jar in hand, who entered the currents of the river at a wrong place in order to cross. His wife followed him to hold him up, but before she reached him, he fell into the river and died. Thus she took up the *konghou* and beat it, and made the "Lord, don't cross the river." Voice and music were most sad indeed. When the song had ended, she threw herself into the river and died. Huo-li-zi-gao returned and told the sound (i.e. the words of the song?) to his wife. Liyu was painfully moved, so she drew close the *konghou* and transposed the sound. Those who heard it all shed tears and cried. Liyu transmitted the song to her neighbor woman Lirong and called it (or: its name was) *Konghou yin*.
>
> 箜篌引者朝鮮津卒藿里子高妻麗玉所作也 子高晨刺船而櫂 有一白首狂夫被髮提壺亂河游而渡 其妻隨呼止之不及 遂墮河水死 於是援箜篌而鼓之 作公無渡河之歌 聲甚悽愴 曲終自投河而死 藿里子高還以其聲語妻麗玉 玉傷之 乃引箜篌而寫其聲 聞者莫不垂淚飲泣焉 麗玉以其曲傳隣女麗容 名曰箜篌引焉.[5]

A third early version appears in another text called *Qincao* by Kong Yan (孔衍 258–320) of the Eastern Jin, who was probably about a generation younger than Cui Piao. His version seems to be a condensed re-combination of parts of the two earlier texts:

> "Konghou yin" was authored by the Chaoxian ford soldier Huo-li-zi-gao. A madman with dishevelled hair and a jar in hand waded into the river to cross it; his wife ran after him, but before she had reached him, he fell into the river and died. She, then, implored heaven and wailed, took up the *konghou* and sang: "Lord, don't cross the river! The lord did cross the river. He fell into the river and died; what, my lord, can I do about it!" When Zi-gao told his wife Liyu about it, Liyu was

[5] Quoted from the *Siku quanshu* edition of *Gujin zhu*, *juan* 1 zhong.

> painfully moved, so she drew close the *konghou* and transposed the sound. Those who heard it all shed tears. Liyu called the song by the name *Konghou yin.*
>
> 箜篌引者朝鮮津卒藿里子高所作也 有一狂夫被髮提壺 涉河而渡 其妻追止之不及 墮河而死 乃呼天噓唏 鼓箜篌而歌曰 公無渡河公竟渡河公墮河死當奈公何 曲終自投河而死 子高以語其妻麗玉 麗玉傷之 乃援箜篌而寫其聲 聞者莫不墮淚 麗玉以曲 名曰箜篌引

The most influential of these versions was probably the one presented in *Gujin zhu*, seeing that this is the one quoted in the widely read collection of song lyrics, *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集, prepared by Guo Maoqian (郭茂倩 1041–1099) in Song times.[6] This collection treats the original song not as a yuefu lyric in its own right but as the blueprint for a number of poems with the title "Konghou yin" or "Gong wu du he" 公無渡河 that had been composed by Chinese poets up to that time, including Liu Xiaowei 劉孝威 (496–549), Zhang Zhengjian 張正見 (527–575), Li Bo 李白 (701–762), Li He 李賀 (790–816), Wang Jian 王建 (ca. 767–831 or later), Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠 (812–870) and the rather unknown Wang Rui 王叡 of late Tang times.

Thus, the *Yuefu shiji* bears witness to the rich tradition of productive reception that the "Kongmudoha ka" enjoyed in China, a tradition that extended into the late imperial era. A collection of such poetry prepared by a Korean scholar carries 57 items from China, most of Song and Ming times.[7] Even though ten of these works have to be discounted as they belong to a different tradition of *konghou* songs, probably started by Cao Zhi (曹植 192–2323) and devoted to the topic of friendship,[8] this number bespeaks a lively in-

[6] *Yuefu shiji* j. 26. Through *Yuefu shiji*, this version again found its way (in an abbreviated form) into *Taiping yulan*. Other influential collections like *Shuofu* (late Ming) also quote the *Gujin zhu* version.

[7] Yun Hojin, *Im-iyŏ! Hasu-rŭl kŏnnŏji maseyo*, Seoul: Pogosa, 2005.

[8] Cao Zhi's poem titled "Konghou yin" is clearly unrelated to the "Kongmudoha ka"; it speaks of a splendid feast with friends, music and dance. Yun's collection lists another, anonymous "Konghou yin" with a somewhat related theme, culled from the *Yuefu shiji,* as an earlier work, but I don't see on which grounds. Six later works in the collection are based on either of these two poems; two more – a "Konghou yin" by Wang Changling (王昌齡, *jinshi* 727) and a late Qing poem based on Wang's – speak to neither of these two traditions. Yun, *Im-iyŏ*, takes note of these different thematic strands of "Konghou yin" poetry (p. 17), but probably in an

terest which only abated by Qing times.[9] The song with the problematic authorship had become fertile ground for authors to prove their literary creativity. Of course, the trigger for this continued engagement with the theme of an old man crossing a river was Li Bo's vigorous poem "Gong wu du he" rather than the plain *yuefu* song. However, as even Li's poem depends on knowledge of the original story in order to be fully appreciated, by virtue of Li Bo's adaptation the lore of *Gujin zhu* was carried forward by the flow of tradition, like flotsam on a wave. Given that Li Bo chose the mighty Yellow River rather than an inconspicuous "Chosŏn ford" as the physical background of the drama of crossing and sinking, connections to the country to the east were rather absent from this literary tradition, and questions of authorship were of little concern to most of the Chinese re-interpreters of the old story.

2. Authorship and ownership: a history of appropriations

This was different right from the beginning of Korean engagement with the "Kongmudoha ka" which can be witnessed only from the early Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910) onwards. It is, of course, impossible to rule out that even Koryŏ (927–1392) scholars had been aware of the Chinese tradition concerning this song and related it in some way or the other to their own history, but the sources telling us so are lost. However, it makes sense to assume that the actual identification of the place name in the story with their culturally "own" territory was greatly facilitated for educated men on the peninsula with the adoption of the name of the ancient country of Chosŏn for their present dynasty. Koryŏ, proudly presenting itself as a successor to the powerful ancient state Koguryŏ (1 BC to 668 AD) that had resisted Chinese assaults for centuries and only fell to a combined attack of the forces of Tang and its own southern neighbour Silla, had had little reason to emphasise its historical ties to Old Chosŏn which had suffered ignominious defeat by the Han em-

attempt to make the impact of the "Korean poem" "Kongmudoha ka" seem even larger, he ignores it in his compilation of sources.

[9] The collection contains only one poem from the Qing based on "Kongmudoha ka."

pire in 108 BC, and the territory of which used to be identified with the most stable of the commanderies that the Han empire founded on the peninsula after this victory, Nangnang (located in today's P'yŏngyang). While the other three commanderies fell to local pressure within decades, Nangnang functioned for centuries as a Chinese outpost on the peninsula and was defeated by Koguryŏ forces only in 313 AD. Chosŏn as a toponym thus may be regarded to have evoked a Chinese presence and power on the peninsula rather than Korean (proto-)national strength[10] and, therefore, to have been an appropriate appellation for a dynasty that was founded on a decision to give in to and profit from the rising power of the Ming dynasty. The "Kongmudoha ka," to the degree to which it touches Korean history at all, obviously bespeaks of its intimate relationship with China and has gained meaning in this context.

Thus, the earliest item of Korean productive reception of "Kongmudoha ka" that scholars have found so far is, befittingly, a poem answering to one by a Chinese ambassador (Qi Shun 祁顺, 1434–1497) on mission to Korea, written by the eminent early Chosŏn scholar Sŏ Kŏjŏng (徐居正 1420–1488) in 1476. Although his poem (as well as obviously Qi Shun's, which is not recorded) is mainly based on Li Bo's "Gong wu du he." the original story had to surface, as "Chosŏn" was the ambassador's theme. The nature of the situation – Chinese ambassador and Korean escort – necessitated a "national" reading of Chosŏn. However, due to the ambiguities of the transmitted legend, any wish to amplify the significance of "Chosŏn" to the poem hinged on the question of authorship and the respective "nationality." Sŏ's composition illustrates this so well that it is given here in translation:

> Why is the current of the ford so fast,/ so fast that it can't be approached?

[10] By the late 13th century when the monk Iryŏn was writing his unofficial history of the Three Kingdoms, *Samguk yusa*, Tan'gun as a native founder of Chosŏn had been invented to complement the Chinese tradition of Kija having been enfeoffed to Chosŏn and brought civilisation there after the fall of the Shang dynasty. A nativist tradition of relating back to Old Chosŏn had thus been established. Still, identification with Old Chosŏn must certainly have increased after the dynastic change.

> Lord, don't cross the river!/ - he crosses deep into the mist.
>
> The loved one having departed on a whale/ no black bird carries a message.
>
> Since the lovely one went after him,/ one after another partakes in her sorrow.
>
> When I hear the lament of the lute,/ tears wet my sleeves.
>
> What a treasure is Kwak-ni-cha,/ his voice transversing the centuries!
>
> Unable to equal the Banished Immortal,/ I idly imitate the Xikun style.[11]

The first half of the poem treats the event of the drowning itself, the second its transmission and reception in song, with the middle couplet (4th of 7 couplets) aptly linking the two parts by alluding both to the alleged origin of the song – the madman's wife who "went after him" – and to the chain of transmission of her song. However, authorship is not credited to her; rather, Kwak-ni-cha-go's voice is singled out as the "treasure" that "traverses the centuries." In all likelihood, this is due to the fact that he is the one to which the epithet "Chosŏn" is attached in all existing versions of the story.[12] With both authorship and national belonging now made topical, the poem turns to a stylistic self-reflection that seems to express modesty but in fact reinforces the emphasis on the "original" source of the "Kongmudoha" theme: The "banished immortal" refers to Li Bo, whom he claims to leave aside in favour of an early Song style known for its heavy reliance on direct quotations from earlier literature.[13] Li Bo's poetic licence to the detriment of the "Chosŏn" origin of "Kongmudoha ka" is thus juxtaposed with the poet's own fidelity to the "real" source.

Sŏ did not remain the only one who distanced himself from Li Bo's poem. For example, an entry in *Osan sŏllim* 五山說林, a miscel-

[11] No. 5 of "Ten poems answering on the Chief Ambassador's Various Song's on Chosŏn" ("Ch'aun chŏngsa Chosŏn chamyong sip su"), in: *Saga sijip poyu* kw. 2, *Sagajip* (Han'guk munjip ch'onggan vol. 11): 165b.

[12] I am claiming this on the basis of the notion that the *Gujin zhu* version which credits authorship to Liyu was the best known in Korea as well as China.

[13] Li Bo's "Gong wu du he" has been acclaimed for its unique creativity, see Varsano, *Banished Immortal*, 134.

lany in the *sihwa* 詩話 format by Ch'a Chŏllo (車天輅 1556–1615), after quoting the story from *Gujin zhu* states that the Chosŏn ford must be today's Taedong river in P'yŏngyang and blames Li Bo for the opening lines of his poem that set the stage on the Yellow River: "Even if these are the words of a poet, they stray far from the facts; this is not a technique to be emulated."[14] Such disaffection with Li Bo's creative interpretation didn't keep all Chosŏn literati from basing their own "Kongmudoha"-related works on his poem, just like their Chinese counterparts.[15] However, one of these works again seems to make a strong statement similar to Ch'a Ch'ollo's, albeit in poetic form, by closely following the form of Li Bo's poem, using his rhymes and rhythm, but placing the scene at the Han river in Seoul; the poem written by Yi Hyŏnsŏk (李玄錫 1647–1705) accordingly carries the title "Kong mu do Han" 公無度漢, a little literary joke.[16] And among the not too many Chosŏn dynasty specimens of productive reception – the collection by Yun carries only seven titles, and a broader perspective at what is relevant yields only a few more results[17] –, at least one more poem deals specifically with the Koreanness of authorship, Chŏng Tugyŏng's (鄭斗卿 1597–1673) "Kongmudoha":

> A white-haired madman dies, submerged by the floods;/ how sad the melody of the lute.
>
> Who, I ask, has been able to make this song?/ The Chosŏn ferry soldier Chago's wife.[18]

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[14] *Osan sŏllim ch'ogo*, quoted from Yun, *Im-iyŏ*: 49 f.; see also the online version of the text at the Database of Korean Classics, <http://db.itkc.or.kr>.

[15] An example would be "Konghu wŏn" by Kŭm Kak (1571–1588), a poem modelled very closely on Li Bo's. See Yun *Im-iyŏ*: 190 ff.

[16] See Yun, *Im-iyŏ*, 194 f.

[17] Of the seven poems in Yun's collection, one again belongs to the other line of Konghou yin-tradition going back to Cho Sik. Nam Chaech'ŏl, "Kongmudoha ka-ŭi kukchŏk." In: *Han'guk siga yŏn'gu* 24 (2008): 167–201. 187–196 cites a handful more poems that carry different titles but mention the *konghou* or allude to the story.

[18] This poem is contained in his *munjip*, *Tongmyŏngjip* 東溟集, kw. 2, Han'guk minjip ch'onggan vol. 100: 402b. Yun incorrectly gives another, contemporaneous author for this poem, Kim Seryŏm (金世濂 1593–1646) whose *munjip* is also titled *Tongmyŏngjip*.

Not Kwag-ni-cha-go but his wife is credited with authorship here, probably pointing to better acquaintance with the *Gujin zhu* text, but the emphasis on Chosŏn-ness remains. The literary engagement during the Chosŏn dynasty thus was not exclusively, but foremost a concerted effort of claiming cultural heritage to the song, its Chinese history of transmission notwithstanding.[19]

This sentiment is put in a nutshell by Yi Sugwang (李睟光 1563–1628), who was the first to collect *Korean* knowledge in an encyclopedic work, with the following entry on "Konghu in":

> "Konghu in" is also called "Kongmudoha." The introduction given to it in the *Yuefu* (*shiji*) says that it is the work of Yiok, wife of the Chosŏn ferry soldier Kwak-ni-cha-go. This poem is recorded among the ancient *yuefu*, but our country has not transmitted it. This is deplorable.[20]

Two different concepts of literary ownership are played out here, ownership through production and ownership through transmission. An economy of cultural exchange becomes visible, in which those who cherish, hand on, and safeguard a cultural item might make justified claims to inheritance – a reason for lament for the descendants of the assumed author, who see their own inheritance rights put in jeopardy.

3. Lost to translation: the conundrum of authorship in modern Korean research on "Kongmudoha ka"

The concerns of modern Korean scholarship about "Kongmudoha ka" for the most part fit seamlessly into this mould.[21] Among the ten

[19] It is noteworthy that even though such intentions can be detected in Sŏ Kŏjŏng's poem already, they obviously became much more prevalent with the rise of proto-nationalism after the Japanese invasions of Korea 1592–1598.

[20] "Ko akpu." *Chibong yusŏl* 芝峰類 kw. 10.

[21] The following paragraphs do not intend to give a comprehensive overview over the research history, which has been done by Cho Kiyŏng, "Kongmudoha ka-e issŏsŏ yŏl-gaji chaengjŏm." In: *Mogwŏn ŏmunhak* 14, (1996): 61–105, Yun, *Im-iyŏ,* and others. A number of works may have escaped my attention, others like the dissertation by Sŏng Kiok (1988) were not readily available. I am trying to unfold the logic of the argumentation in 20th and 21st century scholarship rather than

"debated issues" with which scholarship on this song has to deal, according to one more recent article,[22] it is in most cases only two – "authorship" and "nationality" – that really command interest; the remaining eight – title, genre, geographical setting, personages, time of creation, background story, language of creation and significance in literary history – are, in general, discussed only as auxiliary material for clarifying these two points of utmost concern, or the conclusions drawn about the latter eight depend on the answers found on the former two issues.[23]

And indeed, for Korean cultural self-esteem much hinges on the decision about the "nationality" of the "author", as long as the question is framed in these categories: If the poem can be said to be "Korean" in origin, it can be regarded as almost a singularity in terms of being a *Korean* work that had a tremendous influence on *Chinese* literature rather than the other way round,[24] a fact that has led to the poem's use as a token of "5,000 years of Chinese-Korean friendship" on the side of Chinese scholars.[25]

Needless to say, song and story yield strong resistance to defining a "nationality" and pinning down authorship for them, all the more as the different versions add to the ambiguities inherent in the story itself. Thus, even if "Koreanness" had been a foregone conclusion, the "correct" interpretation of the source texts would have en-

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delineating its chronological development.

[22] Cho Kiyŏng, "Chaengjŏm", 65.

[23] A noteworthy example for a scholar who argues against trying to solve the question of authorship is Tong Tal "Kongmudoha ko." In: *Han'guk ŏmunhak* 28 (1990): 313–29, here 329.

[24] For a formulation of this point of view, see Yun, *Im-iyŏ*, preface, n.p.

[25] See Li Ju 李炬, "Chaoxian gudai hanwen shi 'Konghou yin' yu hanwenhua." 朝鮮古代漢文詩箜篌引與漢文化, in: *Qinghai shizhuan xuebao* 3 青海師專學報 3 (1999): 47–49. It seems to be recent Chinese policy to acknowledge the Korean origin of the song. E.g. Li Yan 李岩, "Chaoxian gudai mingyao 'Konghou yin' zunyi xukao." 朝鮮明謠箜篌引存疑續考, in: *Dongjiang xuekan* 東疆學刊 21/ 4 (2004): 12–16 does so in the article's title, while the essay itself seems to argue, somewhat tongue-in-cheek, for the song's Chinese cultural pedigree. For some information on earlier Chinese scholarship on the subject, see Sa Chaedong, "Kongmudoha chŏnsŭng-ŭi munhakchŏk yŏn'gu. Kŭ hŭigokchŏk silsang-ŭl chungsim-ŭro." In: *Mosan hakpo* 1 (1990): 141–76, here 141 f.

gendered much debate; it did all the more so as, interestingly, especially in the 1970s some Korean scholars argued for a Chinese cultural provenance of the poem.[26] An albeit brief overview over the issues and arguments will lead more deeply into the questions concerning authorship that the "Kongmudoha" tradition poses.

One of the central questions for a cultural attribution of this tradition certainly should be geographical space, i.e. the location of the Chosŏn ford; however, possible answers do not do much for actually solving the issue of "nationality," especially as they need to be considered in connection with the presumed time of the event. Is the Chosŏn ford really identical with the Taedong river in P'yŏngyang, as Ch'a Ch'ŏllo remarked, or after all a place in old Zhili (roughly today's Hebei) province?[27] While it might seem that a Korean location would guarantee Korean "ownership," things are more complicated. For in the first case, the "ford soldier" may as well have been Chinese, if we take the historical situation of the Taedong river at the time of the first recording of the story into account: A ford, a place of much strategic importance, would have been occupied by colonial forces rather than indigenous ones in a Han commandery.[28] On the other hand, even if the place was in Zhili, it might have gained its name due to the settling there of migrants from the peninsula; examples of similar phenomena from later historical periods give some evidence to this idea.[29] The ford soldier might then still have been of "Korean" origin. To situate the story in Old Chosŏn instead of the time of Han commanderies again allows for other geographical settings. Placing the ford in Liaodong, as has been done in recent scholarship based on the *Shiji* 史記, can be construed to just

[26] See Ch'oe Sinho, "Konghuin igo." In: *Tonga munhwa* 10 (1971): 217–231 and Chi Chunmo, "'Kongmudoha' kojŭng." In: *Kugŏ kungmunhak* 62–63 (1973): 281–307.

[27] This was first claimed by Ch'oe Sinho, "Konghuin igo." In: *Tonga munhwa* 10 (1971): 217–31.

[28] On this and a number of additional grounds, Chi Chunmo, "'Kongmudoha' kojŭng." In: *Kugŏ kungmunhak* 62–63 (1973): 281–307, regards the soldier as a person of Han origin, as well as his wife, p. 299–301.

[29] It was formulated, e.g., by Kim Haksŏng, "Sin koch'al", 189 f. A similar more recent phenomenon are the Gaoli villages along in Northeastern China about which Korean travel records of Ming and Qing times regularly report.

bolster the claim of Old Chosŏn and even Nangnang having occupied this area, rather than part of the peninsula.[30]

But, of course, even if it were possible to decide upon the "nationality" of the ford soldier, it would do little to settle the question of the poem's cultural pedigree, as other potential authors are available, whose backgrounds can be construed in various ways. As far as the second person named as author by the sources, Kwak-ni-cha-go's wife Liyu/Yŏok is concerned, it is usually assumed that she must be of the same ethnicity as her husband (recent developments in South Korea, with the number of international marriages continuously on the rise, may soon engender a different outlook on this issue). This could not help to lessen doubts about the Koreanness of both, however: As early as the 18th century, a Korean scholar found the wife's name, as well as that of her neighbour, too "pretty and civilized and different from the customs of the Eastern Barbarians" (*mi a su i ŏ i sok* 美雅殊異於夷俗) to be Korean.[31] In addition, modern scholarship soon began to question the statement of the sources and to take the madman's wife into account as a source of the poem/song. The very first article written in liberated (South) Korea argued this way,[32] and by the 1970s, the idea of multiple authorship in a creation process consisting of several stages had gained ground.[33] Thus, the "initial stage" of the legend, centring on the

[30] Kim Sŏngju, "Sagi-rŭl t'onghae pon Kongmudoha ka-ŭi chakp'um paegyŏng wich'i ko." In: *Taedong munhwa yŏn'gu* 60 (2007): 127–150, positions the Chosŏn ford in Liaodong and argues that this historical truth should not be obliterated even if it means losing the "Kongmudoha ka" for Korean literary history (p. 145), but in his conclusions, he seems to presuppose that this is the place of both Old Chosŏn and Nangnang. That the story took place in Old Chosŏn rather than at the time of the Commanderies was first claimed by An Hwak in his 1922 history of Korean literature, see Cho Kiyŏng, "Chaengjŏm", 72.

[31] Yi Tŏngmu (1741–1793), *Ch'ŏngjanggwan chŏnsŏ* kw. 56, quoted from Kim Chŏngju, "Konghuin yŏn'gu", 73. Yi said the same about Kwak-ni-cha-go's name, but this must have seemed less persuasive, as the name hardly fits Chinese customs. On these grounds, he assumed that the ferry man had migrated to the Chosŏn ford from China (Chungguk).

[32] Yang Chaeyŏn, "Kongmudoha ka sogo." In: *Kugŏ kungmunhak* 5 (1953): 8–9, here 9.

[33] Some early articles that spell this out are Kim Chŏngju, "Konghuin yŏn'gu" In:

madman and his wife, attracted attention as the original Korean tradition, all the more as it lends itself easily to being interpreted in shamanist terms – and shamanism was from the 1970s onward increasingly regarded as Korea's only indigenous religion and the enduring core of Korean culture. The madman's wife became a double-faced figure, representing two varieties of Korean cultural self-image at the same time: Her act of self-effacement, following her husband into the floods to die, has been seen as a crystallisation of "Confucianism," i.e. the mores and moral associated with higher civilisation in pre-modern and early modern times,[34] while her act of self-expression, the lament on the lute, was equated with the deeper, more libidinous structures of resentment and wish fulfilment which came to be represented by shamanism.[35]

Another aspect of Korean culture could not be impersonated by the madman's wife, however: *hanmun*-oriented male literary culture. Entrusting her with the leading part in the process of composite authorship of "Kongmudoha ka" implied acknowledgement of *translation* as a major stage in this process. As a "nameless woman" could never have authored a Chinese poem, the text as we have it must have been the result of a translation by a Chinese person (in the eyes of many, Liyu), while the *yuefu* genre must have been used as a medium of transcoding a Korean poetic form.[36] Winning the "Kongmudoha ka" *for* Korean cultural tradition is, in the final analysis of the logic of this line of argument, equivalent to losing it *as*

Chosŏndae inmun kwahak yŏn'gu 19 (1977): 71–86, here 81, and Kim Haksŏng, "*Sin koch'al*", 190–191. Cho Tongil has gained some fame for formulating a three-stage creation process in the first version of his Han'guk munhak t'ongsa (Complete History of Korean Literature) 1982, see Cho Kiyŏng, "Chaengjŏm", 69.

[34] E.g., Ch'oe Tusik, "Sigyŏng-gwa Konghuin. Mur-ŭi sangjingjŏk ŭimi-rŭl chungsim-ŭro." In: *Kugŏ kungmunhak nonmunjip* 5 (1983): 79–94, *passim*. Hwang Chaesun, "Hanja toraegi-ŭi kojŏn siga-e taehayŏ. Hwangjo ka-wa Kongmudoha ka-rŭl chungsim-ŭro." In: *Kugŏ kyoyuk* 76 (1992): 241–253, p. 250, based on interpretations by Chang Tŏksun and Chŏng Pyŏnguk.

[35] Cho Tongil, *Han'guk munhak t'ongsa* vol. 1, 4th edition, Chisik sanŏpsa 2005: 104–107.

[36] E.g., Kim Chŏngju, "Konghuin yŏn'gu", 81, Kim Sŏnggi (1986), as quoted in Cho Kiyŏng, "Chaengjŏm", 69; Cho Tongil, *Han'guk munhak t'ongsa*, 104–107, Hwang Chaesun, "Hanja toraegi", 251.

tradition; the transmitted text would only be a shadow of a long lost original version. To counter this effect, some Korean scholars have suggested an oral transmission of the song up to rather recent times, quoting as evidence sources from the Chosŏn dynasty like the poem by Sŏ Kŏjŏng mentioned above ("When I hear the 'lament of the lute',/ tears wet my sleeve")[37] or minor variations in the Chinese wording of the poem in different prose accounts of the story.[38] These are obviously weak arguments that do little to secure a solid Korean authorship to a literary and musical[39] product that owes its charm and longevity to its very fluidity.

4. Transmission as creation: authorship as act of "ferrying across"

As others have pointed out before,[40] *flow* – of water, of tradition – can be regarded as a basic leitmotiv of the "Kongmudoha" stories. These two flows are arranged in a perpendicular way: a flowing river in one direction, in the cross-wise direction the ferry soldier and the white-haired man, who are about to traverse the river (presumably in opposite directions, as otherwise the ferry soldier, who

[37] Nam Chaech'ŏl, "Kukchŏk", 188 reads this line of Sŏ's poem as evidence that he must have partaken of an oral Korean tradition of this song.

[38] Hwang Chaesun, "Hanja toraegi", 251. These variations which concern only single characters are more easily explained as the result of an oral transmission/rendering from memory of the *Chinese* language poem, because translations of a Korean version would have tended to use different meters. This can be readily seen in Chinese translations of contemporaneous Korean poetry of Chosŏn time, of which we have well-documented examples.

[39] Scholars have long tried to distinguish between the musical and literary aspects of the "Kongmudoha ka" tradition, often in unison with the two titles under which it is known. Many share the opinion that "Kongmudo ha" should be regarded as referring to the words of the song, "Konghuin" to its melody. As these distinctions are of no relevance to the argument I wish to make, I will not enter this debate.

[40] Especially Chŏng Hayŏng, "Kongmudoha ka." has noted this aspect in a noteworthy article that refrains from interpreting the frame stories as factual records, as so many others are doing. Unfortunately, Chŏng's own psychological interpretation of the background legend as the story of a conjugal conflict is not convincing.

has just loosened his boat, would be close enough to the shore to save the madman), but do not succeed, and thus bring the song and the story into being. The *Gujin zhu* version of the story casts this double movement of crossing in perfect symmetry: The madman sinks in the waves, the ferry soldier returns; the madman's wife composes a song, the ferry soldier's wife casts it into another mould (*sa* 寫). The song is created in a double movement that aims across the flowing river but is brought to a halt; no person crosses the river, but the song eventually does. From the flow of time, a memory is scooped, and made to last by handing it on from one person to the next.

Indeed, the way that the *Gujin zhu* version spells out this movement in greater detail, rendering the flow of tradition *across* the river more palpable, makes it look more like what the title of the work that contains it ("Commentaries on [things of] the past and present") promises, namely an explanatory commentary to the older version, rather than a record of a differing oral tradition as is usually assumed. One might say that the *Qincao* version sets the theme by putting Huo-li-zi-gao centre stage, the ferry man who is in charge of the passage, and the *Gujin zhu* version develops the theme by widening the stage, giving more weight to the process of passage itself by adding detail both to the event on one shore of the river and the production of memory on the other shore.

But if the creation of a song is described as a process of transmissions and transpositions, does this mean that the "Kongmudoha" tradition denies authorship as such and subscribes to a notion of composite authorship? Certainly, the concept of individual authorship was anything but irrelevant to those who recorded the story in the early centuries CE; each of the different versions seems to be written with no other purpose than clarifying authorship for the song. Being able to name an author even appears as a prerequisite to integrating the work of art into a cultural canon (such as constructed, for lute music, by the *Qincao*), to enhance its tangibility and readability. However, by stating an author's name right in the beginning and then proceeding to tell a complex story of multiple creations, and all the more as they disagree on who should be named author, the various versions – each in itself and especially

when read together – work to at least complicate, if not blur the concept of authorship.

First of all, the differing ascriptions of authorship raise the question of who is eligible for being counted as an author. In Cai Yong's version, authorship appears to hinge on *authority*, as he names Huo-li-zi-gao, who is the most high-ranking person in the scene. Gender might be cited as another, related reason that the ferry soldier rather than the madman's wife is pointed out as the author of the song, quite contrary to what the story itself seems to tell. But with the different choices made in Cui Piao's version, in which a woman of no position, besides being a wife, is singled out as the author, another aspect is foregrounded. His story in mind, authorship seems rather correlated to *objectivation*. The claim of Huo-li-zi-gao's authorship might be based on his being an observer rather than being involved in the event like the madman's wife; the entitlement to authorship of the ferry soldier's wife Liyu, who only heard about the event, seems even more the result of her very detachment from the scene. Objectivation may also be seen as the central effect of the act of giving a title to the song, ascribed in both versions to the person named as the author. However, if we accept the third version by Kong Yan as a thoughtful re-composition of the story rather than just a pastiche, again another aspect is highlighted. His version returns to Huo-li-zi-gao as an author, but with even less substantiation than Cai Yong's where the ferry soldier is said to have "composed" (*chak* 作) the song. In Kong Yan's telling of the story, he is relegated to just "speaking" (*ǒ* 語) about it to his wife, who is again – as in *Gujin zhu* – the one who remoulds the song and provides it with a title. In fact, of all the persons mentioned in this version of the story, he seems to be the least involved with the creation of the song; the one aspect that remains to distinguish him as the song's "author" is, again, his position as the middle link in the chain of *transmission*.

Somewhat similar conclusions suggest themselves when looking at how the act of authoring is described. Cai Yong's version is still rather straight-forward in this respect: the madman's wife just "sings" 歌 a song, while Huo-li-zi-gao is the one who "composes" something from it and furnishes it with a title. It may be noted, however, that different from later versions, a change of musical in-

struments is involved in his act of composition: What he heard was accompanied by the *konghou* lute, while the ferry man "grasped the *qin*" zither. In addition, his "composition" is qualified in the very next sentence as a "reproduction" of "picturing" (literally: "casting an image of") the singing that he had heard. Thus, even in this comparatively unambiguous first version, the final product or work of art appears as the result of a process of *transcoding*, not of original *creation*. This is, of course, even more so the case in the later versions which both describe Liyu's act of authoring as "transposing" or "casting into another mold" (*sa* 寫).

But what is transposed, transcoded, re-cast and reproduced on the "hither" side of the river? While I am not interested in the degree to which the event on "thither" shore can be identified with anything like "Koreanness", questions of ethnicity being tricky in the period in question, it seems obvious to me that the background legends bespeak the overcoming of a certain foreignness in the process of rendering the song in an authoritative form and feeding it into literary history. The *konghou* lute is supposed to have originated on the fringes of the Chinese empire, albeit the western one rather than the eastern;[41] the Chaoxian ford, wherever it may have been situated exactly, must also have evoked images of frontier, especially in combination with a soldier watching it. Exoticism is enhanced by the rather mythical figure of the white-haired man with a jar in hand (which has often been interpreted as referring to a local god). The legend of the creation of the "Kongmudoha" song is thus a story of bringing something peripheral, mysterious and strange into the fold of mainstream culture by adapting it to the accepted forms; it is, in effect, a story about translation.

I am not in a position to decide what these findings are telling us about the concept of authorship in early medieval China; due to its exotic nature, the "Kongmudoha ka" may be a rather particular case. Other studies in this volume, notably Roland Altenburger's analysis of the auctorial role that Jin Shengtan ascribed to himself as the editor of *Shuihuzhuan*, suggest that the relationship between authorship and ownership, creation and appropriation of texts as witnessed in the "Kongmudoha ka" case are the rule rather than the

[41] See Li Yan, "Chaoxian gudai mingyao", 14.

exception, at least for literature conceived of, in one way or the other, as "vernacular". At any rate, it seems most befitting to me that this song and its background legend appear as the first tangible items of Korean literary history. For even if Korean claims to cultural ownership may be less than solidly grounded in historical facts, it is of much symbolical value to regard such a narrative of authorship as an act of translating and transmitting as the starting point of a literary culture that has been shaped by transpositions and transcodings of literary texts, forms, and language for many centuries, and has used these processes to create an enormously rich literary heritage.[42]

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42 For an eclectic, but very sensitive foray into the ways in which pre-modern Korean literature gained its uniqueness precisely through the engagement with Chinese literary heritage, see McCann, "Chinese Diction in Korean Shijo Verse".

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APPROPRIATING GENIUS:

JIN SHENGTAN'S CONSTRUCTION OF TEXTUAL AUTHORITY AND AUTHORSHIP IN HIS COMMENTED EDITION OF *SHUIHU ZHUAN* (THE WATER MARGIN SAGA)

Roland Altenburger

Introduction

Jin Shengtan 金聖歎 (personal name Renrui 人瑞 1608–1661) is a great name in traditional Chinese literary criticism.[1] He is remembered as a flamboyant critic with a uniquely idiosyncratic style of his own, a pioneering advocate of the vernacular tradition and of fictionality in literature, and some even consider him the founder of an actual fully-fledged theory of the Chinese novel.[2] Moreover, his new editions of two outstanding works of pre-modern Chinese literature, the novel *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (*The Water Margin Saga*) and the singing drama *Xixiang ji* 西廂記 (*The Western Chamber Story*), became the standard editions in which these works have been read for the next three centuries, well into the twentieth century. By establishing them as masterworks, he greatly enhanced, and thus also profoundly changed the course of, the future reception of these works. His profusely commented editions also became a model and the benchmark for future editors and commentators of other works of fiction and drama.

His commentary edition of S*huihu zhuan*, which he entitled *Di-wu caizishu Shi Nai'an Shuihu zhuan* 第五才子書施耐庵水滸傳 (*The Fifth Book of Genius: Shi Nai'an's Water Margin Saga*, latest preface 1641), particularly stands out as a monument in his critical oeuvre, and in the history of editions of Chinese literature. However, despite in Shengtan's seemingly prototypically "modern" stance of flamboyant iconoclasm, his eccentric personality and his critical legacy have re-

[1] I gratefully acknowledge the critical feedback I received from Patricia Sieber.

[2] For the latter claim, see: Hua Laura Wu, "Jin Shengtan (1608–1661): Founder of a Chinese Theory of the Novel", Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1993; and Hua Wu, "Theory and Practice: A Meta-Discourse on Chin Sheng-t'an's *Shui-hu chuan* Commentary", *Tamkang Review* 27.3 (1996): 311–342.

mained highly controversial throughout the twentieth century.[3] While some modern philologists have celebrated him for his path-breaking achievements, others have despised him for his frequent and sometimes unscrupulous tampering with the texts that he edited and commented on, for even making up documents and faking "proves" to serve his intentions, and for thus having misled generations of readers, and to some degree also modern literary researchers. Probably the strongest factor in the reception of Jin's commented edition of *ater Margin*, however, was the novel's central thematics of banditry and rebellion. Jin's attitude with regard to this theme was ambiguous. While, on the one hand, he revealed sympathies for individual bandits he, on the other hand, condemned banditry in general. From the perspective of twentieth-century revolutionaries, the political tendency of his recension had to be considered "arch-reactionary", and, therefore, in Maoist China, the evaluation of his work was bound to be one-sidedly negative.

The present paper proposes a reexamination of the famous, in a certain sense notorious, case of *The Fifth Book of Genius*, Jin Shengtan's first major publication, through which he gained a considerable amount of public attention and in fact quickly became a celebrity on the literary scene. In the following I shall scrutinise what Jin Shengtan actually did with his trailblasing commented *Water Margin* edition, and how he achieved what he did. The main focus will be on the question of authorship, and of the textual authority he created by establishing an author for the text. As will be seen, one of the main procedures Jin applied in his edition of the *Shuihu* text was to construe, or even to invent, an individual authorship for it, and thus (seemingly) unambiguously to tie a name to a text for which, hitherto, apparently there had been no necessity whatsoever for attaching any unified authorship. My core argument will be that Jin's procedure of attaching an author to the text was the crucial tactical move in his strategy of appropriating the text. Jin Shengtan's editing and commentary projects must neither be separ-

[3] David L. Rolston, ed., *How to Read the Chinese Novel*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990: 127 (transcription adapted): "Since Jin Shengtan first became famous, assessment of his commentarial method in particular his work on the *Shuihu zhuan* has ranged from praise to damnation."

ated from his idiosyncratic personality nor from the group mentality of late-Ming underemployed young urban examination candidates, who were eager for recognition as scholars and determined to make their spectacular mark in the world of letters.

Making a Name

Jin Shengtan spent most of his life in Suzhou, the centre of the culturally and economically dominant Jiangnan 江南 region. As John C.Y. Wang, a biographer of Jin Shengtan, has warned us, much of what has been passed down about this author's course of life is of legendary nature, so "that we have to be constantly on guard not to mix fact with hearsay."[4] Jin Shengtan appears to have been such an eccentric personality that anecdotal episodes about him naturally grew and circulated among the local society of Suzhou. Moreover, this author included in his writings numerous self-representations, as he was eagerly projecting an array of self-images,[5] and self-aggrandisement, in particular, would appear to have been an important driving force for him. Therefore, we better remain sceptical about the allegedly "autobiographical" episode put forward in the third preface to his commented edition of *Water Margin*, which describes his love for this novel already in his youth. According to this account, at the age of ten years (11 *sui* 歲), during a period of frequent illness, he first got hold of a copy of *Water Margin*, albeit a "vulgar edition" (*suben* 俗本), along with several other books (some of which later also became part of his personal list of favourite books, or "books of genius"). About the *Water Margin* he mentions that he "clasped it to his bosom day and night",[6] the wording of which would seem to anticipate his later act of appropriating this book through editing.

[4] John C.Y. Wang, *Chin Sheng-t'an*, New York: Twayne, 1972: 23.

[5] Rolston, *How to Read*: 126: "The personal element in his writing seems to have encouraged a variety of what seem to be legendary anecdotes about him."

[6] For Jin Shengtan's *Water Margin* edition I refer to the reproduction *Di-wu caizishu Shuihu zhuan* 第五才子書水滸傳 (6 vols.) in the series *Guben xiaoshuo jicheng* 古本小說集成, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe: 1990 henceforth abbreviated as *DWCZS*. Here, see 1.17a; cf. Wang, *Chin Sheng-t'an*: 26.

If we are to believe Jin's account about his early fascination with *Shuihu zhuan*, the first phase of his deepened, intellectual involvement with this book followed only one year later:

> Since I loved to read *Water Margin*, at the young age of eleven years (12 *sui*), I received an old edition that was being kept in the Hall of Flower Garlands (Guanhuatang). I labored day and night to make a manuscript copy of it, which I enriched with my own comments and explanations. After months and months had passed, I was finally satisfied with the result, as it is now materialized in the present volume.[7]

This passage would seem to suggest that the edited and commented text that he published some twenty-five years later was the result of this early stage of juvenile enthusiasm for this book. While it is beyond belief that the edition *Di-wu caizishu Shi Nai'an Shuihu zhuan* was the work of an adolescent, there can nevertheless hardly be any doubt that Jin Shengtan had huge ambitions already as a child and justly considered himself a great talent.[8]

From early on he established a list of his personal favourites among the works of literature, which he termed as *caizi shu* 才書 "books of genius", implying that they were books *by* as well as *for* geniuses.[9] This personal canon comprised such diverse works as the following ones: (1) the philosophical work *Zhuang zi* 莊子 (*Master Zhuang*) by Zhuang Zhou 莊周(4th c. B.C.); (2) the long allegorical poem *Li sao* 離騷 (*Encountering Sorrow*) by Qu Yuan 屈原 (ca. 340–278 B.C.); (3) the historical work *Shi ji* 史記(*Records of the Historian*) by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–ca. 85 B.C.); (4) the poetry of the Tang poet Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770); (5) the vernacular novel *Shuihu zhuan*, the story of which was set in the Song dynasty (12th c.); and (6) the Yuan-dynasty (13th

[7] *DWCZS* 1.19b.

[8] In his commentary on Du Fu's poems he characterised himself as a child in the following words: "When I was a child, I thought myself to be possessed of enormous talents. [...] I felt terribly disappointed, as though from ancient times until now I alone had great talents, but I alone remained frustrated and unknown." Wang, *Chin Sheng-t'an*: 26.

[9] Rolston, *How to Read:* 83–84 and 84–85, n. 14; cf. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction*, 52. On the origins of the concept of caizishu prior to Jin, and how Jin's selection of masterworks fit into this, see: Patricia Sieber, *Theaters of Desire: Authors, Readers, and the Reproduction of Early Chinese Song-Drama, 1300-2000,* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003: 149–157.

c.) *zaju*-style (variety theatre) singing drama *Xixiang ji* 西廂記 (*The* Western Wing Story). David Rolston has argued that, by associating a text of fiction with the classics and belles-lettres of the past, he sought to dramatically raise the status of the genre.[10] Quite evidently, this list was devised in a roughly chronological order, and Jin kept holding on to its sequence once he had established it. It provided something like a master plan for a scholar's life, since he had the great ambition of writing commentaries on all six of them, and of preparing his own editions of these texts that were to include his own commentaries.

The primary avenue for establishing one's value and making a career in the world of letters, at Jin's time, was to seek success in the examination system and enter official service. Jin Shengtan indeed reached the first level of the examination ladder, the government student (*shengyuan* 生員) degree, at a very young age, probably already in his teens, and he is likely to have continued to compete for the far harder-to-get next-higher provincial level in later years until the end of the Ming dynasty, in 1644. Since a government student did not qualify for any official position yet, Jin became a member of the crowd of "under-employed and over-educated"[11] learned men that was particularly large in a place such as Suzhou that boasted a uniquely high density of both talented and ambitious literati. The great ambitions that Jin held for himself, already in his youth, and his actual life situation of involuntary idleness and underemployment, must have resulted in a high degree of frustration and in a single-minded determination to achieve something great in life despite the unfavourable circumstances. His commented edition of *Water Margin*, assumed to have been published in 1644,[12] the year in which the Ming dynasty fell, indeed gained him an unexpected amount of prestige as a literary critic, and encouraged him to pur-

[10] David L. Rolston, *Traditional Chinese Fiction and Fiction Commentary: Reading and Writing Between the Lines*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997: 25.

[11] Craig Clunas, *Empire of Great Brightness: Visual and Material Cultures of Ming China, 1368–1644*, London: Reaktion Books, 2007: 108.

[12] According to an anonymous work, *Xinchou jiwen* 辛丑紀聞 (A Record of Events Heard in the *xinchou* Year [i.e. 1661]) that documented the events that led to Jin's execution in 1661, the edition was first published in 1644. Rolston, *How to Read,* 413.

sue with other items of his master plan, especially his commented edition of *Western Wing* that was eventually published in 1656. This second major commented edition of a text of vernacular literature shows numerous close similarities to the previous *Water Margin* edition, but betrays a significantly higher degree of self-confidence, as is reflected by his tendency towards being more out-spoken about his motives and procedures.[13]

One may raise the question of why Jin, in pursuing his master plan, began with the fifth item on the list of favourite books, *Water Margin*, and then proceeded further with the sixth, *Western Wing*. Jin's own answer to the question is evident: because *Water Margin* was the work he had admired the most since his youth; moreover, he presents it to us as the ultimate master text among the books of genius he had identified, for he believed that it included all the rhetorical techniques that he had also found in the texts of high literature. Therefore, *Water Margin*, according to Jin Shengtan, served as the key to all reading and writing. However, as will be shown, there may have been another important reason for the choice of *Water Margin*: as a vernacular text, like *Western Wing*, it had the status of a "soft" text that allowed for the far-reaching editorial manipulation and textual surgery Jin in fact applied to it. He would not have dared to proceed in any similar way with the master texts of "high" literature, neither with an enshrined text like Sima Qian's *Shi ji*, nor with the venerated collected poems by Du Fu.[14] Despite the numerous occasions at which Jin expresses admiration for the *Water Margin* text,

[13] Cf. Sally K. Church, "Beyond the Words: Jin Shengtan's Perception of Hidden Meanings in Xixiang ji," in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 59.1 (1999): 5–78; and Liangyan Ge, "Authorial Intention: Jin Shengtan as Creative Critic," in: *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 25 (2003): 1–24.

[14] Wang, *Chin Sheng-t'an*: 60: "[...] it is illuminating to note that in his commentary on Tu Fu's poetry Chin never willfully changed the text involved." The high degree of accessibility of *Shuihu zhuan* for appropriation and textual tampering has been linked to "the general practice of anonymity in the *xiaoshuo* [小說, i.e., fictional narrative] tradition and the complex textual history of *Shuihu zhuan* in particular". See Martin W. Huang, "Author(ity) and Reader in Traditional Chinese *Xiaoshuo* Commentary", in: *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 16 (1994): 52.

his practice actually betrays that he had rather little respect for the novel's textual integrity.

Jin's course of life was cut short, all too literally, when he was executed by beheading, along with a group of local scholars from Suzhou, in August 1661, for his involvement in the so-called "Temple Wailing Case" (*ku miao an* 哭廟案), a public protest against a harsh local magistrate, at the occasion of an official mourning ceremony for the deceased Shunzhi emperor (r. 1644–1661). The court punished Jin in a draconic way because it considered him as an instigator of the protest. Due to his early death, Jin in his lifetime was only able to put into practice part of his plan, being the commented editions of *Shuihu zhuan* and *Xixiang ji*. He began, but could not finish the fourth item on his list, being a commented edition of the poetry of Du Fu. In a testamentary poem, entitled "On Having My Lifespan Cut Short" ("Jue ming ci" 絕命詞), he summarised his achievements in the following words, as translated by Ji Hao:

> "Rat liver and bug arms" — (I've) long been desolate,
> I only cherish a few books in my breast;
> Though happy that I've roughly analyzed Tang poems,
> What about *Zhuangzi*, *Lisao*, *Shiji*, and Du Fu?[15]

The implied reference to his commented editions of vernacular literature, *Shuihu zhuan* and *Xixiang ji*, in the first line, has a strong smack of triviality.[16] Even though it may be read as an understatement, it nevertheless tells something about Jin's assessment of fiction and drama as minor literature.

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[15] Translation from Ji Hao, "Confronting the Past: Jin Shengtan's Commentaries on Du Fu's Poems," in: *Ming Studies* 64 (2012): 65; for an alternative translation, see Patricia Sieber, "Getting at It in a Single Genuine Invocation: Tang Anthologies, Buddhist Rhetorical Practices, and Jin Shengtan's (1608–1661) Conception of Poetry," in: *Monumenta Serica* 49 (2001): 40; cf. Cao Fangren 曹方人 and Zhou Xishan 周錫山 eds., *Jin Shengtan quanji* 金圣叹全集, 4 vols., Yangzhou: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1985, 4: 839. Note that, besides his ambitious programme of *caizi shu* editions, he also published other books, such as prose anthologies, that also carried the term *caizi* in their titles.

[16] The phrase *shu gan chong bi* 鼠肝蟲臂 (lit., "rat's liver and bug's leg") is an allusion to *Zhuangzi*, ch. 6. Cf. Victor H. Mair, trans., *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu*, New York etc.: Bantam Books, 1994: 59.

Although Jin Shengtan's commented *Water Margin* edition is widely considered a milestone in the history of Chinese fiction publishing and literary criticism, the circumstances of the original production of this edition have remained largely unstudied.[17] We also need to consider the question as to what extent this commentary edition was a commercial enterprise. The compilations of essays that Jin produced later on most likely served the generation of income.[18] Jin, however, would not have admitted that the publishing of his *The Fifth Book of Genius* edition was for the profane sake of earning money. Nevertheless, it is a socio-historical fact that jobs in the publishing business were among the few professional fields that were open to unsuccessful examination candidates, especially in Suzhou, a centre of book publishing. His entire *Water Margin* editorial project may also be viewed as following the typical demands of a commercial edition, since Jin clearly produced a slimmer, shorter, more consistent, and generally better readable text.[19] For instance,

[17] For bibliographical descriptions of early editions of this text, see: Ma Tiji 马蹄疾 *Shuihu shulu* 水浒书录, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986: 117 ff.; Rolston, *How to Read*: 413. For a reprint of a "Guanhuatang" edition (on this designation cf. further below), I refer to the *Di-wu caizishu Shuihu zhuan* 第五才子書水滸傳 as reproduced in *Guben xiaoshuo jicheng*. However, note that this reproduction was based on another reproduction, that is: *Di-wu caizishu Shi Nai'an Shuihu zhuan* 第五才子書施耐庵水滸傳 8 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975. This one was not necessarily based on a copy of the first edition or printing, either. Nobody seems to have studied the preserved copies of early *Di-wu caizishu* editions so far. The few copies kept in Mainland Chinese libraries already come in four different divisions, comprising 16, 24, 32 or 40 fascicles (*ce* 冊, i.e. physical units). This indicates that the relationships among the early editions and printings of this book may have been more complicated than is generally assumed. For a preliminary survey, see Ma, *Shuihu shulu*: 117–18. Ma Tiji doubts that any of the Mainland Chinese holdings represents the first edition. Therefore, he refers to them as either the "new edition" (*chongkeben* 重刻本) or "second edition" (*erkeben* 二刻本).

[18] Robert E. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998: 52.

[19] For a general survey of the marketing of fiction in the late imperial period, see: Robert E. Hegel, "Niche Marketing for Late Imperial Fiction", in: Cynthia Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow, eds., *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley etc.: University of California Press, 2005: 235–66.

Jin, in his recension, "cut all poetry and parallel prose in the novel except the poems that open and close the work and poetry quoted by the fictional characters."[20] The result of this combing-out procedure was a "streamlined" text that lowered the entry threshold for less highly educated groups of readers. The success of his edition with the readership, which led to the quick disappearance of all the previous editions of the text from the book market, speaks for itself.

The original edition of *The Fifth Book of Genius* is often referred to as "the Guanhuatang edition" of *Water Margin*, since the name Guanhuatang 貫華堂 appears on its front page, and in particular at the bottom of the printing blocks' middle border (*banxin* 版心) where we commonly expect the reference to the publisher. However, "Guanhuatang" definitely was not the name of any established Suzhou publishing house, since besides this *Shuihu zhuan* edition, we have no evidence whatsoever for any other book edition by any such publisher.[21] The most likely explanation would be that the first edition of *The Fifth Book of Genius* was privately published by Jin himself, and perhaps even printed in his residential quarters by some local printer. The front page reveals the following information about the printing: "Jinchang, old copy of Guanhuatang, printed by Ye Yaochi" (金閶貫華堂古本葉敖梓). Jinchang 金閶 referred to the names of two city gates of Suzhou, and thus served as a metonymic term of reference for the city. The printer Ye Yaochi 葉瑤池 is known as one of at least nine late-Ming Suzhou printers surnamed Ye all of whom likely were members of the same clan and had their workshops near those two city gates. Ye Yaochi also had his own printing atelier, named as

[20] Rolston, *Traditional Chinese Fiction,* 29; cf. 54.

[21] For a register of Suzhou publishers that for Guanhuatang only lists Jin's edition of *Shuihu zhuan*, see: Jiang Chengbo 江澄波 et al., *Jiangsu keshu* 江苏刻书, Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1993: 106. One register of publishers of fictional narrative during the late imperial period lists for Guanhuatang, besides the *Shuihu zhuan* edition, also one edition of *Sanguo zhi yanyi* with commentary by Mao Zonggang. See: Wang Qingyuan 王清原 et al., *Xiaoshuo shufang lu* 小说书坊录, Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2002: 12. However, some title elements of this edition, such as *Di-yi caizi shu* 第一才書(First Book of Genius) and *guben* 古本(old edition), betray it as imitating Jin's *Shuihu zhuan* edition. It even includes a faked preface attributed to Jin Shengtan. As Rolston shows, the edition in question was actually published by Zuigengtang 醉耕堂(*How to Read,* 434).

Tianbaotang 天葆堂.[22] Whether the first edition of *The Fifth Book of Genius* was carved and printed there but nominally published by the name Guanhuatang, or whether it was produced in commission by this printer at Jin's home, is ultimately irrelevant. The crucial point is that the Guanhuatang edition was a "private printing" (*sike* 私刻),[23] and perhaps even a "familial printing" (*jiake* 家刻),[24] which provides a safe basis for the assumption that the person responsible for it, Jin Shengtan himself, remained in full control of almost every aspect of its production, down to the typographical detail. This is of crucial importance for it permits us to also include in our analysis certain significant elements of the typography of this edition.[25]

As one point on which there is some confusion in modern research on Jin Shengtan, "Guanhuatang" has long been assumed to have been the studio name of a friend of Jin's. As a matter of fact, there are a few mentions of the name Guanhua 貫華 which indicate that it was employed as a monastic name by a friend of Jin's, Han Zhu 韓住 (*zi* Sichang 嗣昌).[26] Some concluded from this that Han must

[22] Wang Yangang 汪燕岗, "Mingdai Suzhou tongsu xiaoshuo de chuban" 明代苏州通俗小说的出版, in: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan wenxue yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院文学研究所 and Zhongguo gudai xiaoshuo yanjiu zhongxin 中国古代小说研究中心, ed., *Zhongguo gudai xiaoshuo yanjiu: di 3 ji* 中国古代小说研究:第3 辑, Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2008: 299; Wang Yangang 汪燕岗, "Diaoban yinshuaye yu Mingdai tongsu xiaoshuo de chuban" 雕版印刷业与明代通俗小说的出版, *Xueshu yanjiu* 学术研究 2009.9: 141; Zhou Liang 周亮, "Cong Ming-Qing Jinling Suzhou banhua de yanbian guan qi fengge de yitong" 从明清金陵苏州版画演变看其格调异同, *Jiangnan daxue xuebao* (*renwen shehui kexue ban*) 江南大学学报 (人文社会科学版) 8.3 (2009): 113; Xie Hongwen 谢宏雯, "Wan-Ming Suzhou shufang xingsheng zhi yin" 晚明苏州书坊兴盛之因, *Changjiang luntan* 长江论坛 110 (2011.5): 73.

[23] Wang, "Mingdai Suzhou tongsu xiaoshuo de chuban", 304.

[24] Cf. Naifei Ding, *Obscene Things: Sexual Politics in Jin Ping Mei*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002: 54-55.

[25] Cf. Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994: 28; referring to D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

[26] Chen Dengyuan 陳登原, *Jin Shengtan zhuan* 金聖嘆傳 (rpt., Xianggang: Taiping shuju, 1963), 24–25; Wu Zhenglan 吴正岚, *Jin Shengtan pingzhuan* 金圣叹评传, Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2006: 112–13.

have been the publisher of Jin's edition,[27] which apparently was not the case. However, Guanhuatang, "The Hall of Flower Garlands",[28] evidently was the name of a building. Along with Jiangjingtang 講經堂, "The Hall for Expounding the Sutras",[29] it is variously mentioned as the name of a room that belonged to Jin Shengtan's residential quarters, and in particular as his studio that also housed his private library. Since both names, Jiangjingtang and Guanhuatang, refer to Buddhist preaching in closely similar ways, it would seem likely that they were the subsequent names for one and the same studio. The naming (or renaming) of the study as Guanhuatang could have been inspired by the name of Jin's friend (or vice versa), so there is not necessarily any contradiction in understanding it also as Jin's studio name, and hence, by extension, also as an indirect reference to his person. This is an important point since, thus, the name Guanhuatang served Jin as a mark of authorship to his book productions, starting right from his path-breaking *The Fifth Book of Genius*.

The meaning implied by the name Guanhuatang also readily brings to mind one of the most revealing anecdotes that has been documented by his first biographer, Liao Yan 廖燕 (1644–1705), about how Jin occasionally gave public lectures at his private home:

> He set up a platform in the Guanhua Study where he was residing, summoned students, and gave a lecture [...]. Whenever he mounted the platform and started to talk, his voice was loud and clear and he would look around majestically. The audience below the platform, among whom were Buddhist monks, would prostrate themselves in obeisance, and sigh that [this was something] they had never heard before. He would then clap his hands and look self-important. Even

[27] See, e.g., Fang Chao-ying's entry for "Chin Jên-jui", in: Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*: Volume I. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943: 165.

[28] The term *guanhua* 貫華 (also written as 貫花) clearly has a Buddhist leaning as it alludes to the legends about how, when the patriarchs of Buddhist schools preached, the gods were so moved that they let colourful and fragrant flowers rain down to earth. Later this has been used as a metaphorical reference to Buddhist inspiration and immediate enlightenment.

[29] Wang, *Chin Sheng-t'an,* 24.

> though the other lecturers hearing his talks knitted their eyebrows and moaned [to show disapproval], he paid no attention.[30]

While Liao Yan suspected that through such performances Jin sought to ridicule other scholars, to us they first of all indicate that Jin provided himself opportunities to satisfy his desire for demonstrating his genius and his superior ability in expounding texts. Since Jin, at the occasion of such public performances, appears to have lectured mainly on Buddhist texts, it would also seem that he consciously emulated the religious connotation of his studio name.[31] Due to the evidence that Guanhuatang was the name of Jin Shengtan's studio, it is most reasonable to take it as one name by which Jin Shengtan used to refer to himself.[32] The name Guanhuatang as mentioned on the title page of the first edition of *The Fifth Book of Genius* actually refers to the alleged repository of the "old copy", "stored in The Hall of Flower Garlands" (*Guanhuatang suo cang* 貫華堂所藏)[33], on which Jin claims to have based his edition. Thus, he marked ownership, indicating that the "authentic" text was in his possession and, therefore, he held a safe monopoly on it. This authority over the text was purely imaginary – a successful fiction, just like the novel it packaged and promoted, and the fictional nature of which Jin emphasised in his commentary. If Guanhuatang was just another name for the person Jin Shengtan, we may conclude that the storage place of the alleged "old copy" referred to the

[30] Ibid.: 29 (adapted transcription). For an alternative partial translation of this passage, see Patricia Sieber, "Religion and Canon Formation: Buddhism, Vernacular Literature, and the Case of Jin Shengtan 金聖嘆 (1608–1661)," in: *Journal of Chinese Religions* 28 (2000): 55. For the wording of the Chinese text, see Liao Yan, "Jin Shengtan xiansheng zhuan" 金圣叹先生传 (Biography of Mister Jin Shengtan), in: Sun Zhongwang 孙中旺, ed., *Jin Shengtan yanjiu ziliao huibian* 金圣叹研究资料汇编 Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2007: 14–15.

[31] Patricia Sieber recently highlighted the importance of the Buddhist context for Jin's oeuvre. See Sieber, "Religion and Canon Formation."

[32] Xu Shuofang 徐朔方, "Jin Shengtan nianpu 金圣叹年谱 (1608–1661)", in: Xu Shuofang, *Wan Ming qujia nianpu* 晚明曲家年谱 (3 vols., Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, s.a.), 1: 728; Jin Su 金苏, "Jin Shengtan Guanhuatang ming kao" 金圣叹贯华堂名考, in: *Ming Qing xiaoshuo yanjiu* 明清小说研究1988.1: 209.

[33] The title of the faked preface by "Shi Nai'an" holds the same claim (cf. further below).

author himself, or perhaps in a metaphorical sense, to his mind. when read this way, the title page, where the construction of textual authority is anchored first of all, perhaps unconsciously to Jin himself, also contained a hidden clue to the author's strategy of appropriation.

Roger Chartier, in departure from Michel Foucault's hypothesis of the "strong connection between the individuality of the author and the inscription of the activity of writing and publishing within the regime of private property", stresses "the relationship between the constitution of a market for works – a market that only printing could make possible – and the affirmation of the author."[34] As Naifei Ding argues, considerations regarding the book market and the professionalisation of literary activity were also important motivational factors behind Jin's construction of authorship,[35] even though he would never have admitted that he had any commercial interests underlying his edition. For Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Chartier pointed out paradoxical developments for which we have indications in China already in the early to mid-seventeenth century: on the one hand, there was the tendency towards making literary works negotiable commodities and, on the other hand, there remained a cultural ideology of holding up the "courtly literary values of privacy and rarity" and hence also of material disinterestedness.[36] Correspondingly, Jin Shengtan ostensibly had to profess his purely aesthetic interest in the text. This attitude of ostensible disinterest in the commercial printing of his treasures is exemplified by an anecdote passed down to us by his cousin Jin Chang 金昌. Once, Jin Chang tells us, when he visited Jin Shengtan in his private library, he discovered that Shengtan stored books there that nobody else had ever set their eyes on. (By this information Jin Chang provided circumstantial support for Shengtan's claim of having privileged access to certain rare books, such as the supposedly authorised "old copy" of *Water Margin*.) When Chang asked him why he did not have them printed, Shengtan replied that he was too poor. Why then, Chang insisted, did Shengtan not pass them on to a

[34] Chartier, *The Order of Books*: 30 and 38.

[35] Ding, *Obscene Things*: 49. Cf. Sieber, *Theaters of Desire*: 148.

[36] Chartier, *The Order of Books*: 7–39 (quotation: 39).

publisher who could print them? Shengtan protested that he would not bear it – only over his dead body! – to expose these priceless treasures to such serious mistreatment for a mere profit.[37] Apparently then, his *Water Margin* edition, allegedly also based on such a priceless treasure, was a different case.

For an under-employed literatus such as Jin Shengtan, who perhaps was less eager to make profit than to make a name through editing and commenting, it is intriguing that he did not have his own name placed right on the title page of his first publication, his *The Fifth Book of Genius* edition. Jin must have been aware of the practice of using the names of famous scholars as – actual or alleged – commentators to novels right on the title page, for marketing purposes.[38] Such an advertising technique, however, only worked with a well-known author, which Jin evidently was not at the time of his first publication. Therefore, Jin chose to mark his authorial presence on the title page in subtler, more indirect ways. At a closer glance, his identity does indeed pop up on the title page in various disguises: first, in his studio name Guanhuatang; second, in the title designation *The Fifth Book of Genius* that referred to his personal list of favourite books; and third, as will be seen in the following, also in the authorial name "Shi Nai'an" that will be analysed as a construed *alter ego* for the author himself. Thus, Jin Shengtan found indirect ways to imprint his own name and personality onto the text he commented on and edited. As a matter of fact, his authorial presence is also felt throughout the book in ways that were entirely unprecedented. In the following section we shall discuss the highly innovative textual techniques and intermediary functions by which he achieved this intense perception of authorial presence.

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[37] See Jin Chang 金昌, "Caizi shu xiao yin" 才子書引 (Foreword to the works of genius), in Sun Zhongwang 孙中旺, ed., *Jin Shengtan yanjiu ziliao huibian* 金圣叹研究资料汇编 Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2007: 56.

[38] See, e.g., the various editions that claim to include commentary by the famous Li Zhi, most of which, however, are believed to be spuriously attributed to this author for marketing reasons. See: Rolston, *How to Read*: 356–363; and Andrew H. Plaks, *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel:* Ssu-ta ch'i-shu, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987: 513–517. On the "market value" of the name, or the "commodified persona", of Li Zhi, see also Ding, *Obscene Things*, 55–56.

Creating a Masterwork

One of the most striking features of the *The Fifth Book of Genius* edition is the massive critical apparatus which the editor placed before the actual main text. It fills the first four of the seventy-five chapters, or fascicles (*juan* 卷), that this edition comprises. It includes four parts, each placed in a separate chapter, or fascicle: (1) three prefaces, all written by the editor-commentator himself; (2) excerpts from historical works outlining the novel's parallels in official history; (3) extensive instructions to the reader on "how to read" (*dufa* 讀法) this novel; and (4) the preface attributed to "Shi Nai'an".[39] After this extensive prefatorial entry section,[40] the text of the novel proper starts in *juan* five with a "prologue" (*xiezi* 楔子) chapter that ends with a listing of the headings of the seventy chapters to follow,[41] conspicuously without chapter numbers.[42] In addition to this critical apparatus preceding the text there are the various elements of commentary accompanying the text, most notably the extensive chapter comments that are always placed *before* each chapter, whereas prior to Jin Shengtan they usually had been appended *after* the chapters. Within each chapter, moreover, the

[39] Rather conspicuously, Jin Shengtan's *Di-wu caizishu* edition did not include any illustrations, although illustrations were a standard equipment of novel editions in the late Ming. Cf. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction*: 140–141. Actually, the first major new edition based on Jin's *Di-wu caizishu* edition corrected this "anomaly" by including a major set of illustrations. This edition, entitled *Pinglun chuxiang Shuihu zhuan* 評論繡像水滸傳(The Water Margin Saga: with critical comments and illustrations), included a preface by Wang Wangru 王望如 dated 1657 and was printed by the publishing house Zuigengtang 醉耕堂.

[40] This spectacularly long introductory section to Jin's *Shuihu* edition, and its implications, have variously been described and discussed. See, e.g., Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction,* 307–308; Rolston, *How to Read,* 58, 128–129.

[41] *DWCZS* 5.22b–27a.

[42] This feature is likely related to one of the major changes that Jin introduced to the text, being the shifting in the chapter counting. Since he turned the previous "preamble" ("yinshou" 引首) section plus the original first chapter into an unnumbered prologue, he had to shift by one the entire chapter counting. It is also confusing that, due to the extensive prefatorial section, the numbering of *juan* does not correspond to the implied chapter counting, either.

text is sprinkled with the commentator's remarks, placed right into the text, most often in double columns of smaller-size characters, more rarely squeezed in between the lines or placed in the top margin, above the actual frame of the page. Due to the innovative placement politics of this editor-cum-commentator, the various elements of commentary became almost inevitable to the reader, moreover there was a strong tendency for the commentary to merge with the text. As the commentary tacitly advertised itself as the primary attraction of the book, the reader would find it increasingly indispensable.

These various procedures of textual placement unmask Jin Shengtan as a rather authoritarian, highly interventionist and invasive commentator who, as Ellen Widmer put it, was "setting the angles of interpretation at the beginning of chapters rather than the ends, before readers had a chance to think for themselves, and leaving few interpretive points to the reader's own imaginings even after the chapter had begun."[43] Nevertheless, it should also be noted that, except for the in-text comments that are discernible by their smaller character size, all other added paratextual elements are rendered clearly recognisable as to their discursive status by the typographic marker that the text is removed from the top margin by a space of two characters.[44] Moreover, all the major commentary sections, including the sequences of pre-chapter commentary, are always introduced by the title phrase "Shengtan waishu" 聖歎書(Outer writings by Shengtan), being the clearest mark of authorship that Jin Shengtan set into the text, and indeed at highly visible and crucial places, such as at the beginning of the entire book as well as the head of each chapter. Jin, whose terminology is generally rich with borrowings from Buddhism, obviously had derived the term *waishu* 外書"outer writings", from common Buddhist usage where this term

[43] Ellen Widmer, *The Margins of Utopia: "Shui-hu hou-chuan" and the Literature of Ming Loyalism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987: 85.

[44] Aspects of typography have hitherto hardly been taken into consideration in Chinese literary studies. For a pioneering attempt at increasing our understanding of typography, see: Martin J. Heijdra, "Typography and the East Asian Book: The Evolution of the Grid," in: Perry Link, ed., *The Scholar's Mind: Essays in Honor of Frederick W. Mote*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2009: 115–145.

refers to works outside the Buddhist canon.[45] He thus would seem to have made a clear-cut and transparent distinction between the text proper, on the one hand, and the commentator-editor's various forms and layers of additions to it, on the other hand; between the work of an original, primary author ("inner") and that of a secondary, editorial author ("outer"). This apparent clearness in the distinction of textual status, however, ultimately is deceptive, for it hushes up rather than reveals the true extent to which this secondary author tampered with, intervened in, and manipulated the text he edited, and the rather bold ways in which he adapted it to his own intentions.

Jin Shengtan justified all his major and minor changes to the *Water Margin* text by the argument, as put forward in his third preface, that he was the owner of, or at least had privileged access to, an "old copy" (*guben*) being widely different from the available "vulgar copies" (*suben*, i.e., the currently circulating editions), and which represented the authorised text by the original author, as whom he established "Shi Nai'an". Among philologists nowadays, however, it is almost unanimously agreed that Jin did not have access to any such "old copy", that no such edition existed, and that the false pretence was a strategic move that enabled the commentator-editor to claim unquestionable authority for his radically revised new edition of the *Shuihu zhuan*. At numerous instances throughout his interlineal commentaries, he finds fault with the wording of the "vulgar copies" and lauds the ingenious wording of the alleged "old copy". The places he highlights and praises, though, frequently are those that he himself had altered. Thus, by praising Shi Nai'an's ingenuity he actually tacitly showcased his own achievements as an editor, or rather, as a secondary author enhancing the text. "Often not satisfied with this kind of self-flattery, he sometimes stated quite bluntly just how good his comments were."[46] Textual comparisons have

[45] Hanyu da cidian bianji weiyuanhui 汉语大词典编辑委员会 and Hanyu da cidian bianzuan chu 汉语大词典编纂处 eds., *Hanyu da cidian* 汉语大词典, 12 vols., Xianggang: Sanlian shudian Xianggang fendian & Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1987–1995, 3: 1159. Rolston dubs the phrase as "Uncollected works by Jin Shengtan"; see Rolston, *Traditional Chinese Fiction*, 48.

[46] Wang, *Chin Sheng-t'an,* 29–30.

rendered it quite clear that the edition on the basis of which Jin was working was the 120-chapter edition by Yuan Wuyai 袁無涯, which first had been published around 1612.[47]

Jin's most interventionist act of surgery on the *Water Margin* text was his editorial decision to cut off everything that follows after chapter 71 in the 100- and 120-chapter editions, which commonly is rather drastically termed "dismemberment by the waist" (*yaozhan* 腰斬). Since he worked primarily on the basis of a 120-chapter edition, he cut away no fewer than 49 chapters, that is, a very substantial part of the text. His actual motivation for this decision is among the most contested questions concerning Jin Shengtan's *Shuihu zhuan* edition. For much of the twentieth century, scholars assumed that, by this intervention, he meant to express his condemnation of banditry in general, since he thus prevented the bandits from being granted an amnesty (which earned him hatred from leftist critics). The assumption of political motives gains additional support from the fact that Jin himself added a few pages of text of his own to provide the truncated novel with something like an ending. In this added passage, in which Jin tacitly took the role of primary author, he anticipates, as a dream prophecy, the beheading of all the bandits.[48] This would seem like a politically correct decision at a time when, in 1642, the *Shuihu zhuan* had been prohibited for the very first time due to its alleged promotion of banditry.[49]

Among the various paratextual add-ons to Jin's edition there is one text with the rather circuitous title phrase: "A preface included by myself from among the front matter of an old copy of the *Water Margin Saga* stored by/in the Hall of Flower Garlands who presently

[47] Rolston, *How to Read*: 130. For a systematic counterpoising of the interlineal comments in the Yuan Wuyai and the Jin Shengtan editions, see Bai Lanling 白蘭苓 *Caizi wenxin* 才子文心, Beijing: Beijing guangbo xueyuan chubanshe, 2002: 258–283. Not only Jin's short comments often echo the comments attributed to Li Zhi, as included in the Yuan Wuyai edition, but he also followed many of the editorial changes suggested in that edition.

[48] *DWCZS* 75.21a–23a.

[49] In departure from the common assumptions about political motives, David Rolston argued that the decision may have been motivated primarily by aesthetic considerations, "as part of a campaign to reduce internal contradictions and to save the best part of the novel." Rolston, *Traditional Chinese Fiction,* 29.

recorded it" ("Guanhuatang suo cang guben Shuihu zhuan qian zi you xu yi pian jin lu zhi" 貫華堂所藏古本水滸傳前自有序一篇錄之).[50] The preface in question is signed by "Shi Nai'an from the Eastern Capital" (Dongdu Shi Nai'an 東都施耐庵) and served Jin as the main piece of textual evidence for his allegations elsewhere in his prefatorial apparatus that Shi Nai'an was the main and original author of the *Water Margin Saga*. The preface title, it may be noted, includes an instance of strange ambiguity in the wording *zi you xu* 自有序, translated in my rendering as "A preface included by myself...," which could also be read as "A preface by myself included...." According to the typographical marking that discerns "inner" and "outer" textual layers of the edition, as pointed out before, the text of the preface is rendered without a two-character space on top and, therefore, implicitly marked as belonging to the original authorship. This, however, merely camouflaged the fact that Jin Shengtan himself had fabricated this preface and purposefully attributed it to "Shi Nai'an".

Among philologists nowadays there has hardly remained any doubt about Jin Shengtan's actual authorship of this preface.[51] It is interesting to note that already some of Jin's contemporaries had serious doubts about his *Water Margin* edition, and about the claims it raised and the constructions it made, particularly those pertaining to the question of authorship. The most notable such contemporary critical observer was Zhou Lianggong 周亮工(1612–1672), who was the son of a family that was very active in the Suzhou publishing business. He was personally acquainted with Jin Shengtan and in fact was directly involved in the printing of several of the latter's editing projects, also including a new, illustrated edition of Jin's commented *Water Margin* edition with an additional preface and commentary by Wang Wangru 王望如, first published in 1657.[52]

[50] *DWCZS* 4.1a–3b. For a translation, see Pearl S. Buck, trans., *All Men Are Brothers,* rev. ed., 2 vols., New York: John Day, 1937, 1: xii–xiv ("Preface").

[51] Even scholar who continues to defend Jin's claim of having based his edition on an old copy, admits that the preface is a fabrication. Zhou Ling 周岭 "Jin Shengtan yaozhan Shuihu zhuan shuo zhiyi" 金圣叹腰斩《水浒传》说质疑, in: *Wenxue pinglun* 文学评论 1998.1: 73.

[52] For an insightful study of Zhou Lianggong's involvement with Jin Shengtan and the publishing of his writings, see: Lu Lin 陆林 "Zhou Lianggong canyu kanke Jin Shengtan piping Shuihu guwen kaolun" 周亮工参与刊刻金圣叹批评《水浒》古文考论, in: *Shehui kexue*

Therefore, Zhou may be regarded as a reliable witness who would not seem to have had any reason for purposely trying to blacken Jin's achievements. In a short account about *Water Margin* he included the following, rather blunt assessment of Jin's edition:

> Recently, Jin Shengtan cut away everything after chapter seventy which he considered a sequel added by Luo [Guanzhong]. For this reason he slandered Luo in extreme terms, moreover, he faked a Shi [Nai'an] preface which he placed in the front, [thus putting forward the view that] this book accordingly was Shi's. I say: Where in the world would there be someone who makes such a book! And back then he even dared to reveal his true name! This leaves open quite a few questions. I don't know on what basis the authorship of [Shi] Nai'an could be established.[53]

As becomes clear enough from the wording of this note, Zhou Lianggong found Jin's handling of his duties as an editor quite outrageous. Zhou could not be deceived by Jin's construction of an "original" author's preface, however, since the style of the preface was too similar to Jin's own distinctive style of writing.[54] Moreover, Zhou appears to have realised how intensely Jin was concerned with the establishment of an authorship for the text he had edited.

Establishing an Author

Jin, in his preface that he attributed to "Shi Nai'an", draws an image of an author reminiscent of the archetypal scholar-recluse Tao Qian 陶潛(personal name Yuanming 淵明, 365–427). Accordingly, Jin's "Shi Nai'an" is detached from worldly affairs and politics, as he lives in a simple house at a river bank, with a small plot of land on which he grows grain from which he mostly produces liquor. He indulges in the simple joys of friendship, drinking and conversation, and he writes his book *Water Margin* in idleness and just for his own diversion when there are no friends around, making up in his mind the

zhanxian 祩鋒鴖銭2003.4: 121–25.

[53] Zhou Lianggong 周亮工, *Shu ying* 書影Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957: 15.

[54] André Lévy, "On the Question of Authorship in Traditional Chinese Fiction," *Hanxue yanjiu* (*Chinese Studies*) 6.1 (1988): 252. Cf. Rolston, *How to Read,* 128.

stuff of his book, while pursuing the conventional goals of mental convening with his future readers and the attainment of "literary immortality". Through this representation of the author as a detached and leisurely person, Jin may have sought to forestall criticism of the obviously seditious content of the novel.[55] The view of *Water Margin* as a subversive work "created for venting one's resentment" (*fafen zhi suo zuo* 發憤之所作)[56] had been put forward most prominently by Li Zhi 李贄 (assumed name Zhuowu 卓吾, 1527–1602) in his preface that was included in the collection *Fen shu* 焚書 (Book for Burning, 1590) and also in the novel's Rongyutang 容與堂 edition (ca. 1602). It could be said that Jin, with his fabricated preface, sought to refute Li Zhi's view of the author's motivation, and thus also to outdo the most serious competitor in the interpretation of this text. However, it can also be argued that the view Jin put forward in the "Shi Nai'an" preface[57] was a strategic position that by no means corresponded to his actual reading of the text, for in several places in his commentary he actually supported the view of *Water Margin* as a book that had been written to express political criticism, and thus contradicted the image of the author he projected in the "Shi Nai'an" preface.[58]

Perhaps the most notable trait of the "Shi Nai'an" preface, as fabricated by Jin Shengtan, was the approximation of this fictive image of the author to the life he envisioned for himself, and perhaps also as an approximation to his actual way of living.[59] There is a contem-

[55] Rolston, *How to Read*: 131, n. 5; Rolston, *Traditional Chinese Fiction*: 117.

[56] Li Zhi, "Zhongyi Shuihu zhuan xu" 忠义水浒传序, in: Zhu Yixuan 朱一玄 and Liu Yuchen 刘毓忱, eds., *Shuihu zhuan ziliao huibian* 水浒传资料汇编 Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1981: 171.

[57] It is endorsed also by the first item of the "How to read" ("Dufa") instructions, where it becomes evident that Jin was arguing against Li Zhi. *DWCZS* 3.1b; cf. John C.Y. Wang, trans., "How to Read *The Fifth Book of Genius*," in: Rolston, *How to Read,* 131–32.

[58] *DWCZS* 11.15b (ch. 6, interlineal comment), 19.15a (ch. 14, interlineal comment), and 23.1a (ch. 18, chapter comment). Cf. Rolston, *Traditional Chinese Fiction,* 35. This striking contradiction in the commentary has been considered a possible indication of intended irony; see Ge, "Authorial Intention", 11, n. 36.

[59] Wang, *Chin Sheng-t'an*: 32. Martin Huang describes it as a "congenial" author figure. Huang, "Author(ity) and Reader", 62. Cf. Widmer, *The Margins of Utopia*:

porary description of Jin's lifestyle, by Xu Zeng 徐增, which offers an interesting glimpse of certain traits of Jin's personality:

> Shengtan was by nature free and unconventional, and fond of leisure and relaxation. His favorite spots were along the water edges and in the woods. He was also fond of drinking. Everyday he was invited by his drinking friends. If not, he would become listless. Sometimes when his spirits were high, he would write commentaries for books. Brandishing his brush like wind, he would finish one or two *juan* in a day. In less than three days, however, his spirits would reach a low ebb, and his drinking friends would again drag him away.[60]

In this description, in which the erratic ups-and-downs in Jin's mood and his occasional eruptions of creative energy would seem to indicate a case of manic depression, we are particularly interested in those elements that have corresponding points in the forged "Shi Nai'an" preface. It has been suggested that in many respects Jin Shengtan's "own life must have resembled the idyllic existence depicted"[61] in the idealised self-portrait in disguise, even though his self-image "as a mental hermit in the midst of densely populated Suzhou"[62] may have been more complex than that. In any case, the image he projected of the author's persona, via the fabricated preface, included an intentional similarity to his own self-perceived and self-styled personality. This also supports the idea that the commentator-editor had a strong sense of self-identification with the "author".

Prior to Jin Shengtan's edition, the novel *Water Margin* had been attributed to the names of either Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 (fl. 1330–1400) or Shi Nai'an, or to both of them, implying some kind of cooperation between the two.[63] While Luo Guanzhong has remained

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100–101.

[60] Wang, *Chin Sheng-t'an*: 28 (transcription adapted); for the wording of the Chinese text, see: Chen, *Jin Shengtan zhuan*: 29.

[61] Richard G. Irwin, *The Evolution of a Chinese Novel: Shui-hu-chuan.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953: 88; cf. Widmer, *The Margins of Utopia:* 100.

[62] Rolston, *Traditional Chinese Fiction*: 45; cf. 117. Rolston argues that this image also implied the topos of "the worthy man failing to meet his true lord" (ibid.: 45), hence the classic self-image of the frustrated scholar.

[63] For a succinct overview of the various mentions of, as well as the assumptions and theories about, Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong and their involvement with the

"a somewhat shadowy figure despite proof of his historicity", the identity of any author by the name of Shi Nai'an is "even more obscure."[64] As Liangyan Ge demonstrated most convincingly, the *Shuihu* narrative has evolved over centuries within several traditions of professional oral storytelling, and it was eventually turned into its textualised "full-length narrative" (or "novel") form, as we know it, through procedures of textual processing, such as compiling, editing, revising and redacting, rather than by any act of original composition.

In the *Water Margin* editions preceding Jin Shengtan's, in order to characterise Luo's and Shi's roles in the formation of the text, terms were employed that referred to functions of "compiling" or "editing", but never any terms that denoted original composition. On the title pages of older editions, including the Yuan Wuyai edition that Jin Shengtan is likely to have employed as the main basis for his new recension, we find the following statement of authorship: "compiled by Shi Nai'an, edited by Luo Guanzhong" (*Shi Nai'an jizhuan*, *Luo Guanzhong zuanxiu* 施耐庵集撰 羅貫中纂修). Therefore, by Jin's time, this "double authorship", which actually rather implied something like an editing collective, had become a rather stable part of the tradition of this text.[65]

Patricia Sieber argues that "traditional vernacular texts participated in a collaborative mode of production and consumption between reader and text", which should prevent us from assuming for Chinese traditional vernacular texts any "Western notions of novelistic authorship."[66] Martin Huang, for his part, pointed out that "almost all traditional *xiaoshuo* were written or compiled either anonymously or pseudonymously. Furthermore, *xiaoshuo* writers were more inclined to consider themselves as 'compilers' or 'editors' [...] rather than real 'authors' [...]. This relatively obscure presence (or absence) of the author appears to have a *xiaoshuo* commentator to assume more 'authority' to interpret or even some-

writing of *Shuihu zhuan*, see Liangyan Ge, *Out of the Margins: The Rise of Chinese Vernacular Fiction,* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001: 101–104.

[64] Plaks, *The Four Masterworks*: 294–295; cf. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction*: 39.

[65] Plaks, *The Four Masterworks*: 296; Lévy, "On the Question of Authorship": 252.

[66] Sieber, "Religion and Canon Formation": 56.

times to 'author' a part of a *xiaoshuo* text [...]."[67] Thus, a weak sense of authorship in the tradition of the vernacular novel facilitated the appropriation of the authorship role. Liangyan Ge made the point that "works in vernacular literature were often attributed to shadowy names shrouded in obscurity or with their authenticity unverifiable. As a result, authorial intention became something all the more elusive. That was the challenge that Jin Shengtan had to take."[68] In the case of Jin Shengtan and *Water Margin*, however, it may be argued that, quite on the contrary, obscure authorship was exactly his great chance, for it rendered the text easier to appropriate by an all-encompassing commentator-editor like him.

Jin, with his edition of *Shuihu zhuan*, evidently sought to establish the concept of individual authorship for this text of vernacular narrative just like for any text of "high" literature. Ellen Widmer views this as part of a larger contemporary trend of "growing personalization of fiction – the sense of an author behind a text."[69] However, Jin Shengtan radically departed from the previous practice of textual attribution: Rather than including in his edition any conventional statement of authorship, however, he lifted the name of the one author whom he had identified – or rather, selected at will, or even, invented – as the text's "original" author, right into the book title, which he now termed *Shi Nai'an's* Water Margin Saga. This was not merely a statement of authorship, but in fact one of ownership. And since this title statement was bracketed by Jin's own new title for the book, *The Fifth Book of Genius*, as an implied reference to his personal canon of masterworks, the ownership of the text is implicitly transferred further on to Jin Shengtan himself. In his commentaries, Jin often referred to his construed "author" by the intimate name of "Nai'an".[70] A particularly revealing reference is found in an interlin-

[67] Huang, "Author(ity) and Reader": 51.

[68] See Liangyan Ge, "Authorial Intention: Jin Shengtan as Creative Critic," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 25 (2003): 22.

[69] Widmer, *The Margins of Utopia,* 106.

[70] For the first time in the chapter comment to ch. 5; *DWCZS* 10.2a. However, far more often in his commentaries he used a technical term denoting "author", such as *zuozhe* 作者 ("the author"; *DWCZS* 6.1b, 3b and *passim*), *zuo shu zhe* 作書者("the book's author"; e.g., *DWCZS* 6.4b), or *zuo Shuihu zhe* 作㵐滸者("the *Water Margin*'s author"; e.g., *DWCZS* 8.24b).

ear comment to chapter 8, where Jin refers to the text as "*The Water Margin Saga* by my Shi Nai'an" (*wo Shi Nai'an zhi Shuihu zhuan* 我施耐庵之水滸傳).[71]

Jin's editorial and commentarial strategy "constructed the author as an all-powerful creator in control of all aspects of the process."[72] As a consequence to his conception of the implied author as a master or "genius" (*caizi*), Jin in his commentaries had to demonstrate that everything in the text, down to the very detail of the wording, had been intended and hence was to be considered significant. With a text like *Shuihu zhuan* that originally must have had diverse sources and that likely had been compiled and edited by various hands, and which, therefore, included numerous internal contradictions and imperfections, the assumption, or allegation, of a unifying mastermind controlling all parts of the text was indeed a difficult task.[73] David Rolston described Jin's solution to this problem by the following "dual strategy":

> Jin Shengtan took the radical step of accepting responsibility for everything in the text of his edition of *Shuihu zhuan*. He solved the problem of what to do with the portions of the novel not in accord with his conception of it by editing out some passages and reinterpreting and recontextualizing the rest in his commentary.[74]

Jin's remarkably universal attempt at cleaning up any factual and potential problems of the text he edited ultimately cannot be fully explained, neither by any commercial considerations regarding the marketability of the edition and its success with the readers (which may have been one factor hitherto neglected by researchers, however), nor by his concept of "master work", or *caizi shu*, as the perfect text by a "superhuman" author. Even David Rolston, who tends to exhibit a maximum of understanding for Jin's procedures as a commentator-editor, ultimately cannot help but to arrive at the following conclusion:

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[71] *DWCZS* 13.2a–b.

[72] Rolston, *Traditional Chinese Fiction*: 26.

[73] Ibid.: 27.

[74] Ibid.: 115; cf. 27; cf. Rolston, *How to Read*: 128.

> In effect, he substituted himself for the author. He was not, however, willing to acknowledge his usurpation and worked hard to create an implied author (closely modeled on himself) for the text.[75]

The *Water Margin* in Jin's recension had become his own text, since to him it must have been evident that, due to his highly interventionist interpretation of the role as the text's commentator-editor, ultimately he had assumed the position of the – secondary – author who was responsible for the creation of the masterwork that had been inherent in the material he had worked on, but that only he had brought to light. He sorted out and split up the traditionally attributed "double authorship" into two opposite poles, with Shi Nai'an as the ingenious author on the one end, and Luo Guanzhong as the ungifted scribe on the other. The shadowy figure of Luo could conveniently be held responsible for everything that was less than perfect or undesirable in the text, and what Jin actually did in his edition was to cleanse any traces of this negative downside of his construed authorship.

Martin Huang argues that the commentator, due to his double task as both a reader and an author, always took a "paradoxical position". Moreover, since the relationship of the commentator vis-à-vis the original author was not a relaxed one, but one of rivalry, even one of opponents in an "implicit struggle", a commentator often showed the tendency "to 'usurp' the position of 'author'".[76] Jin "took great pleasure in simulating an 'authorial authority' while pretending to be merely transmitting the voice of that authority,"[77] while in secret it was him, the commentator-editor, who was in full control of the text. However, Liangyan Ge's conclusion that Jin thereby dethroned "the original author" from his "status as the ultimate creator of textual meaning"[78] is deceptive, since for a vernacular narrative text such as *Shuihu zhuan*, it is virtually impossible to assume any individual author at any hypothetical textual origin. The absent, vague or obscure authorship was precisely one of the reasons why this particular text offered itself to the kind of tacit ap-

[75] Ibid.: 115; cf. 27.

[76] Huang, "Author(ity) and Reader": 65.

[77] Ge, "Authorial Intention": 11.

[78] Ibid.: 23.

propriation Jin Shengtan accomplished with his edition. In secret he must have been triumphant about his clever textual strategy of appropriation that was also successful in commercial terms, selling well and pushing competitors out of the market, and that achieved quite perfectly the advertisement of his name in the world of books and the showcasing of his genius.

Conclusion

Jin Shengtan's commented edition *The Fifth Book of Genius: Shi Nai'an's Water Margin Saga*, being his first publication, was the urgent project of a frustrated big ego, designed to create a sensation and leave a lasting mark in the world of letters. Indeed, it won him almost immediate fame despite the unfavourable political and social circumstances of the time, marked by the turmoil of dynastic transition. In the present article, I have shown, firstly, the crucial importance of his establishment of an individual authorship, by the name of "Shi Nai'an", for the novel he presented in his edition. In order to underpin this construed authorship, Jin did not back off from employing quite unambiguously fraudulent means. Among the most powerful manipulations backing his attribution of authorship to one author figure were, on the one hand, the "Shi Nai'an" preface and, on the other hand, the claim of having based his edition on an "old copy" to which he supposedly had privileged access, and which allegedly represented the authentic text by the original author, which thus justified the fact that Jin's new edition in a number of aspects radically differed from all previous editions. There is a near consensus about the view that the "Shi Nai'an" preface had been forged by Jin himself, that no supposedly original "old copy" ever existed, and that Jin had elaborated his own edition on the basis of a currently circulating edition.

As Kai-wing Chow argues, practices of "appropriation of printed publicity", taking the two most common forms of forgery and piracy, were widespread phenomena in the late Ming.[79] Since Jin Shengtan's *Fifth Book of Genius* was by no means singular, it also

[79] Kai-wing Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China,* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004: 138–145.

needs to be contextualised in the "cultural matrix" of larger contemporary trends in publishing and literary production, and not just studied as a case of "authorial pathology".[80] As has been shown, Jin's *Water Margin* edition was clearly marked as a commercial product, but while relying on the bookmarket to establish his authority in the world of letters, in a seeming paradox, he nevertheless retained an ostentatiously elitist attitude towards it. Jin's construction of a single author for his text, whom he established as the "owner" of the text, but who actually served as the mask for his own tacit claims on the text, perfectly served these demands. Therefore, we may speak of an authorship that was "masked" for strategic reasons, similar to the case of the work attributed to Dōgen, as discussed by Raji Steineck in the present volume.

Even though some contemporaries already saw through the construction of the "Shi Nai'an" authorship (and one was noticeably outraged about it), Jin's manipulation was ultimately successful in the one sense that numerous generations of readers henceforth, and well into the twentieth century, have since been reading *Water Margin* along the lines Jin suggested to them. Subsequent to the publication and dissemination of his edition, Jin harvested some of the personal fame he thought he deserved due to his self-professed genius. At a first glance, his edition would seem to be fully in the service of reinstating some "original author" in his true and singular authorial role, and his commentary reads like a continuous celebration of this "ingenious" author's great achievements. However, closely below the surface of this professed project of authorship reinstatement, we discover another, truly vital project underpinning the entire *ifth Book of Genius*, being the "ego project" of the commentator-editor's self-celebration as the true genius behind the book.

Jin's third preface to *Water Margin* is staged as a speech in which he addresses his eldest son, Yong 雍, who also represents his implied reader. This tells us also something about the hierarchy Jin presumed between himself, the master reader who due to his function as the commentator-editor assumed the role of secondary author, and the common reader. In the concluding passage which deals with what the reader can gain from reading his edition of the

[80] Sieber, *Theaters of Desire*: 148.

novel, Jin writes, still addressing his son (and the reader): "[You are] indebted to Shi Nai'an, and even more to me."[81] This indicates that Jin Shengtan conceived of his own authorial role as ranking above that of the construed primary author. Other instances, moreover, strongly convey the idea that Jin conceived the image of the primary author on the basis of a vision of his own self, as an *alter ego*.

As the secondary author, tacitly claiming the role of the primary author, Jin's desire was not merely to control the meaning of the text by constantly policing the readers' reading acts, as Martin Huang argues,[82] but actually the appropriation of the text, and of the authority over the text, through the perfect manipulation, even fabrication, of the authorial image. In his later commented edition of *Xixiang ji*, which followed much the same line of editorial strategy as his previous *Shuihu zhuan* recension, Jin was more outspoken about the question of a reader's, or an editor's, appropriation of a text. This has been considered a sign of increased self-confidence "about his status as an author(ity)" after his commentary on *Shuihu zhuan* had already won him fame.[83] The *Xixiang ji* commented by Jin Shengtan, he argues in his "How to read" instructions to this text, is Shengtan's own text; just as a careful reader will make the text of the *Xixiang ji* a work of his own creation.[84] This may seem like an attempt at a radical "democratisation" of the act of signification, shifting the ultimate authority over the text from the author to the reader. In actuality, however, Jin Shengtan would have abhorred any such breakdown of the hierarchy of writing. Rather, his argumentation was in the exclusive service of vindicating the shifting of textual authority from any original or primary author of the past to the secondary author of the present, that is, to the ingenious author as whom he considered himself.

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[81] *DWCZS*, 1.23a; cf. Wang, *Chin Sheng-t'an*: 50.

[82] Huang, "Author(ity) and Reader": 53, 59, 62.

[83] Ibid.: 53.

[84] "Du di-liu caizishu *Xixiang ji* fa" 讀第六才書㒳法(How to read the Sixth Book of Genius, *The Western Wing*), items 71 and 73; Cao and Zhou, *Jin Shengtan quanji*, 3: 19. Cf. Huang, "Author(ity) and Reader": 59.

He Manzi 何滿子(pseudonym of Sun Chengxun 孫承勛, 1919–2009), one of the staunchest leftist critics who condemned Jin Shengtan in the early P.R.C. for his wilful tampering with the *Shuihu zhuan* text, called him an "elegant bandit" (*yazei* 雅賊), though primarily for political and ideological reasons.[85] This label may be borrowed here as perhaps an appropriate characterisation of Jin's ambiguous role as a commentator-editor, which he interpreted as a secondary author role that aimed at an ultimate fusion with the primary author. On the one hand, Jin's strategic moves as an editor were as bold and unscrupulous as a bandit's acts of appropriation; but, on the other hand, his construction was so sophisticated, and his contributions to the text, its interpretation and its circulation, were so impressive and convincing that most readers have been, and will also continue to be, more than willing to forgive his deeds.

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[85] He Manzi 何滿子, *Lun Jin Shengtan pinggai Shuihu zhuan* 論金聖嘆批改水滸傳 Shanghai: Shanghai chuban gongsi, 1954: 114.

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ENLIGHTENED AUTHORSHIP: THE CASE OF DŌGEN KIGEN

Raji C. Steineck

Dōgen as author: modern and medieval conditions

This article is concerned with questions of authorship in texts related to Dōgen 道元, a Japanese monk who lived between 1200 and 1253, at the dawn of the Japanese Medieval period. The Japanese Sōtō School of Zen Buddhism reveres Dōgen as its founder. This has secured him a place in the intellectual and religious history of Japan. Furthermore, his extensive doctrinal writings in the then new scriptural format of *wakan konkōbun* 和漢混淆文, a form of writing that combines Chinese characters and lexemes with indigenous syllabic script and grammar, by their rhetorical and poetical force make him a classic of Japanese literature.

Scholarly research on Dōgen and his works originated in the 18th century as part of a reform movement within the Sōtō School.[1] In the early 1920s, Dōgen became part of a broader agenda: The influential philosopher Watsuji Tetsurō liberated him from the confines of sectarian concern and treated him as a source of universally valid philosophical insight.[2] Ever since, philosophical discussions on Dōgen have partly been spurred by a demand for the self-assertion of the Japanese spirit, as in Tanabe Hajime's "A personal, philosophical view of the *Shōbō genzō*".[3] The agenda, here, was to find, or construct, a philosophical author who lived well before the advent of the Western imperialist powers, and even before those authors who formulated the groundwork of a modernity that was perceived, in Japan as much as in Europe, in the 1920s and 1930s, as intrinsically "Western". One may see some parallels here to the process of appro-

[1] David Riggs, "Meditation for Laymen and Laywomen: The 'Buddha Samadhi' ('Jijuyu Zanmai') of Menzan Zuiho", in: *Zen Classics: Formative Texts in the History of Zen Buddhism*, ed. Dale S. Wright and Steven Heine. New York, N.Y: Oxford University Press, 2006: 247–74.

[2] Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎, *Nihon seishinshi kenkyū* 日本精神史研究, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992.

[3] As apparent in the following quote: "I feel exalted by the depth and precision of Dōgen's speculative thought, and this encourages me to believe more strongly in the powers of thought of the Japanese." (originally Japanese, Tanabe Hajime 田邊元, *Shōbō genzō no tetsugaku shikan* 正法眼蔵の哲学私観, Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1939: 11.

priating the "Kongmudoha-ka" for the sake of creating an early origin of Korean literature that is described in detail by Marion Eggert in this volume.

However, there has also, especially since the post-war era, been a more demure, historiographical and philological approach to Dōgen[4], which took some twenty to thirty years to take its roots in the Western academy.[5] While their perspectives, methodological and ideological outlook may differ widely, the work of these and numerous other clerics, academics and cleric-academics has firmly established Dōgen as a canonical author – an author that is present in both the literary and philosophical canons.[6] As part of this process, the "Dōgen Canon" itself, as one of the leading western Dōgen scholars called it, has also come under scrutiny[7] and various editions of his "Collected works" have been published; the most recent one is still under way. And even the waves of post-structuralist critique have reached the Dōgen discourse. Since the late 1980s, scholars highlighted issues such as divergences between Dōgen's own ideas and practices and those established within the Sōtō School or the relative obscurity of Dōgen during the later middle ages. Moreover, they increasingly questioned the ideology behind the almost exclusive focus on Dōgen and other founder figures that was, and to a

[4] Exemplified by Ōkubo's work on Dōgen's hagiographies: Ōkubo Dōshū 大久保道舟, *Dōgen Zenji den no kenkyū* 道元禪師伝の研究, Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1953 or Kagamishima's study of Dōgen's sources: Kagamishima Genryū 鏡島元隆, *Dōgen Zenji no in'yō kyōten, goroku no kenkyū* 道元禅師の引用経典・語の研究, Tōkyō: Mokujisha, 1965.

[5] Starting with Bielefeldt's seminal study *Dōgen's manuals of Zen meditation*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

[6] As evidenced by two volumes dedicated to his writings in the "Canon of Japanese Thought" (Terada Tōru 寺田透 and Mizuno Yaoko 水野弥穂子, ed., *Dōgen Jō* 道元 上, Nihon Shisō Taikei 12, Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1970; Terada Tōru 寺田透 and Mizuno Yaoko 水野弥穂子, ed., *Dōgen Ge* 道元 下, Nihon Shisō Taikei 13, Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1972) and one volume in the "Canon of Japanese Classical Literature" (Nishio Minoru 西尾實, *Shōbō genzō* 正法眼藏, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 日本古典文学大系 81, Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1965).

[7] Steven Heine, "The Dōgen Canon. Dōgen´s Pre-Shōbōgenzō Writings and the Question of Change in His Later Works", in: *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 24, No. 1 (1997): 39–85 is the source of this term and sums up the most important issues concerning this subject.

large extent still is, typical of much of the history of Japanese religion.[8]

In a way, the ground thus seems well prepared for reflections on the concept and reality of authorship in Dōgen. One might even say it is high time that we question the basis of our counting him among the canonical figures in Japanese literary and religio-philosophical history. We need to inquire as to how the "author function" is realised and distributed in those texts categorised under his name. In Dōgen studies as much as in other fields, traditional hermeneutics has too often taken to the author as a kind of given, a fixed star guiding us through the unsafe seas of the texts, a source of unity and order in categorising, analysing and interpreting what are on many accounts hugely divergent materials.[9] An analysis of the author constellation and the author figuration in works catalogued under his name will reveal that this assumption of unity is highly problematic in his case.

In the following, I will follow the path that is sketched out in the introduction and begin with a brief analysis of the author constellation in some of the most famous parts of the Dōgen canon. I shall then proceed to analyse the various types (and distributions) of the author figuration in these works. Finally, I will discuss in some detail the way Dōgen stages himself as an author in some of his texts, and draw conclusions concerning his own ideas (or his ideology) of authorship. The focus of this contribution will thus be the author-function as observed in the sources attributed to Dōgen. I shall leave aside for the moment the issues surrounding the ex-post construction of him as a patriarchal, literary, or philosophical author, especially in the early modern and modern periods, because I believe that we can better establish what happens there in terms of a re-configuration of authorship when we have a clear picture of the author-constellations and -figurations of the historical sources in question.

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[8] Riggs, "Meditation for Laymen and Laywomen: The 'Buddha Samadhi' ('Jijuyu Zanmai') of Menzan Zuiho"; Bernard Faure, "The Daruma-shū, Dōgen and Sōtō Zen", in: *Monumenta Nipponica* 42, No. 1 (1987): 25–55; William Bodiford, "Remembering Dōgen: Eiheiji and Dōgen Hagiography", in: *The Journal of Japanese studies* 32, No. 1 (2006): 1–22.

[9] Exemplified in our case by Hee-Jin Kim's classical monograph *Dōgen Kigen, mystical realist*, rev. ed., Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975.

Some introductory notes on the relevant fields of operation are in place. Michel Foucault has alerted us to the fact that the classical modern concept of the author is tied to a specific social structure.[10] The institution of property, the technology of printing, the existence of a publishing industry and a market for books as well as political regulation of the intellectual sphere (both as a sphere of intellectual goods and a sphere of private and national interests) are essential features of this structure.[11] Needless to say, these features are in operation in modern Japan as much as in other industrialised countries, and they do shape the modern to contemporary reception of Dōgen as an author: His works are published and sold as commodities. Most editions add annotation, and they often include a translation into modern Japanese. In this manner, Dōgen's works are made accessible to a public audience of educated readers. As mentioned earlier, he is canonised as a representative of the Japanese history of thought and of classical Japanese literature, in short, of the Japanese nation's cultural heritage. He is praised for the originality of his thought, his distinctively personal style, and the depth of his insights.

The situation was quite different in his own time. It is true that the first use of printing for the reproduction of texts is documented in Japan for as early as 770.[12] However, at that time, and for some centuries, the technology exclusively served to reproduce Buddhist texts for ritual purposes. From the 11th century onward, Buddhist temples started to print canonical (Chinese) texts for reading.[13]

The fact that printing was, in a manner of speaking, a "Buddhist technology" in ancient and early medieval Japan did *not* mean that a Japanese author in the early medieval period could or would aspire to have his or her works printed, or distributed to the general pub-

[10] Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author", in: *Authorship: From Plato to the Postmodern*, ed. Seán Burke, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Pres, 1995: 233–46.

[11] Molly Nesbit, "What Was an Author?", in: *Yale French Studies* 73 (1987): 229–57. However, Roger Chartier *(The Order of Books,* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994) has done much to elucidate the continuities of this concept with preceding figures of authorship in European literature.

[12] See Nakane Katsu 中根勝, *Nihon Insatsu Gijutsushi* 日本印刷技術史, 3rd ed., Tōkyō: Yagi Shoten, 2000: 46–55 for a partial reproduction and description of the printed document and a discussion of the technology used.

[13] Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, Leiden: Brill, 1998: 118–19.

lic. The first book in Japanese, a collection of the sayings of the Pure Land Buddhist Hōnen, was printed only in 1321, a century after Hōnen's, and seven decades after Dōgen's demise.[14] And, as Kornicki notes in his standard monograph on the book in Japan, "scribal culture continued to dominate book production until the seventeenth century."[15] This meant that there was no mass reproduction of Japanese texts in Dōgen's time. There was also no public market for books, let alone learned doctrinal compositions.

Moreover, to a Buddhist teacher like Dōgen, the mass reproduction and distribution of essential doctrinal works composed by contemporary authors may not have even appeared desirable. In a tradition that emphasised direct contact between teacher and disciples, it was often feared that reading without proper instruction would foster misunderstanding rather than insight, and lead to heresies and false claims to authority. The postscript by Rennyo (1433–1499) to the famous *Tannishō,* a posthumous collection of Shinran's sayings, is the most telling in this respect: "This holy teaching is the most essential sacred scripture of our school. It is not to be allowed that people who have not collected good merit would touch upon it."[16] Dōgen himself repeatedly stressed that the independent, scholarly study of books in itself was useless; it became significant only if embedded in communication with a true Buddhist teacher.[17]

In other words, the larger part of newly composed Buddhist works were not written with a reading public in mind. For the most part, they were composed for, and copied by, a community of adepts who would jealously guard them from outsiders. Possession of such texts documented a close link to their author, granting prestige to the holder that was in dimension with the directness of the link and the importance of the author.

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[14] Ibid.: 121.

[15] Ibid.: 87.

[16] Shinshū shōgyō zensho hensanjo 真宗聖教全書編纂所, *Shinshū shōgyō zensho 真宗聖教全書*, Saihan, Kyōto: Ōyagi Kōbundō, 1998, Vol. 2: 795.

[17] See e.g. his injuction in *Bendōwa*: "Don't rely on the skillfulness with words. ... In the transmission of the Buddha Dharma, you need to turn towards a person who gives true testimony as your teacher. A letter-counting scholar will not do." Dōgen 道元, *Dōgen Zenji Zenshū Genbun Taishō Gendaigoyaku* 道元禅師全集 原文対照現代語訳, ed. Kagamishima Genryū 鏡島元隆 et al., Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1999, Vol. 1: 17.

The exception to this rule were "public" works composed in formal Sino-Japanese style. One group of these works, often labelled *ron* 論 ("thesis"), was written to argue the legitimacy of a doctrine in order to gain the support of the supreme political authorities for the establishment of a new school. This was necessary in order to become part of the officially recognised, and state-sponsored web of Buddhist institutions. Dōgen authored such a work, called *Gokoku shōbōgi* 護国正法義 ("The meaning of the right *dharma* for the protection of the realm"; now lost)[18] and submitted it to the court between 1242 and 1243. Its propositions were contested by the much more powerful Tendai school. The court ordered a high-ranking cleric in the state-sponsored hierarchy to function as arbiter in the dispute, who apparently refuted Dōgen's teaching as "adversarial to the teaching of Mahāyāna and detrimental to the protection of the realm."[19] Pressure on the new school mounted accordingly, but Dōgen evaded formal sanction by relocating his community to a relatively remote area in Echizen (now Fukui prefecture). Such treatment was by no means exceptional: submitting a formal thesis to the authorities carried both the promise of state sponsorship and the risk of sanctions based on the unfriendly reading of an expert who might follow a political agenda.[20] Therefore, such works would heavily rely on reference to established scriptural authority, and

[18] Famous extant works of this Genre are the *Jūjūshinron,* by Kūkai, or Eisai's *Kōzen gokoku ron* ("Promoting Zen for the Protection of the Realm"). In Eisai's and Dōgen's titles, the direct relation to the "protection of the realm" emphasises the political character of the work. See Ryūichi Abe, *The weaving of mantra: Kūkai and the construction of esoteric Buddhist discourse*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1999. Albert Welter, "Eisai's promotion of zen for the protection of the country", in: *Religions of Japan in practice*, ed. George J. Tanabe, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999: 63–70.

[19] Imaeda Aishin 今枝愛真, *Dōgen: Zazen hitosuji no shamon* 道元 ：坐禪ひとすじの沙門, Tōkyō: Nihon hōsō shuppan kyōkai, 1976: 139.

[20] However, even works whose authors had been castigated were not censored, and their reproduction was not penalised. Kornicki specifically mentions the notorious Nichiren's *Risshō ankoku ron* as a case in point. Its author had been exiled to the remote Noto peninsula, "but copies survived and were later printed without any further action being taken." The book in Japan: A cultural history from the beginnings to the nineteenth century, 323.

the mass of quoted material would customarily outweigh that of originally composed text.[21]

Another genre of "public" works were the "recorded sayings" (*goroku* 語録) produced by a teacher's disciples as a record of his accomplishments.[22] While these were catalogued under his name, he would not be the person to compose them. Compilation of such recorded sayings was a sign that the teacher in question was accepted as a true master in his community. If accepted in the larger context of a school, they might be used as a scriptural authority, and become eligible for printing at a later time. As formal documentation, the recorded sayings were written in Sino-Japanese style. In Dōgen's case, his closest adepts compiled a record of his ritualised sermons over two decades.[23] A condensed version was later edited by two of his fellow Chinese disciples, and received in the Song Chan community.[24]

Both types of "official" works were not geared towards a general audience, but rather towards specific groups of experts from outside ("theses") or inside ("recorded sayings") of the pertinent school. The "capital" to be gained by them was mainly prestige and political support.

To sum up, the most widely read works of the "modern" author Dōgen were not meant for publication in his own time. They were written for a circle of close adepts. They were reproduced as tokens of such intimacy as much as for their content. As a result, the copy might vary to some extent from the original in content while, on the other hand, it might strive to reproduce not only the text, but

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[21] Shinran's *Kyōgyōshinshō* 教行信証 ("On teaching, practice, faith and enlightenment") is a good case in point: It is often difficult to locate the originally composed passages among the textual mass of scriptural authorities adduced to prove his theses. The ratio is somewhere around 1:10. Shinran 親鸞, Shinran 親鸞, Nihon shisō taikei 11, Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1971; Shinran, Kyogyoshinsho: On Teaching, Practice, Faith, And Enlightenment, Numata Center for Buddhist, 2006.

[22] The genre is of Chinese origin. See Christian Wittern, *Das Yulu des Chan-Buddhismus: die Entwicklung vom 8.–11. Jahrhundert am Beispiel des 28. Kapitels des Jingde Chuandenglu (1004)*, Bern, Berlin: Lang, 1998.

[23] Vol. 1–6 of the *Eihei kōroku,* which also included some informal teachings and letters, plus poetry in Chinese. See the discussion of the work below.

[24] Kagamishima Genryū 鏡島元隆, ed., *Dōgen Zenji goroku* 道元禅師語, Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1990: 213–14.

also the calligraphic style of the original.[25] Writing for outsiders in the strict sense was an exception rather than the rule. It carried promise as well as risks, and the structure of the religious field encouraged a strong dependence on precedence and massive quotations of scriptural authorities to downplay the originality of the thoughts presented. Success would make the author a part of the officially recognised structure of Buddhist institutions, to be called upon for public duties. Failure to convince would mean to be perceived as an impostor, and might mean sanctions such as being exiled. However, the written work was usually not censored, nor was its reproduction prohibited.

Origination Function: Author constellations in the Dōgen Canon

Once he had set about establishing himself as a Buddhist master and spreading his teaching, Dōgen remained an active writer throughout his career. In addition, his most trusted adepts collected his words and manuscripts during his lifetime and after his demise. Editorial work continued for some decades after his death, and was resumed in the Edo period. As the result of the industrious labour of many generations, an extensive oeuvre under his name is transmitted today.

Table 1 gives a list of important writings associated with Dōgen, ranked approximately according to the degree of his involvement in the production of the text. This ranking can partly be derived from the characterisations of his originating activity given by the works themselves, which also provide us with part of the taxonomy of writing and editing used in his time: his original compositions are designated as having been "written" (*sho* 書, *kakite* かきて) or "recorded/taken down" (*ki* 記) by him. The latter term, however, is both used to indicate that someone's own thoughts and/or the spoken words of a third party had been committed to writing by the person performing the activity of *ki.* Although *jishū* 示衆 ("lectured to the community") primarily refers to the performative activity of verbally delivering a text, the fact that these texts are recorded to

[25] A mere copy of the text (*shasho* 写書) was distinguished from a more literal reproduction of "the layout, orthographical usages and even calligraphy (*mosho* 模書). Kornicki, *The book in Japan: A cultural history from the beginnings to the nineteenth century,* 83.

have been "copied" (*shosha* 書写) by Ejō and others seems to indicate that a written draft also existed. In contrast, in the case of the formal sermons collected in *Eihei kōroku* and the informal talks recorded in *Shōbō genzō zuimonki,* it is noted that Dōgen "spoke" (*iwaku* 云く) what was "recorded" (*ki)* and/or "compiled" (*hen* 編) by someone else.

All titles listed are included in the most recent collection of his works[26], and only the last one, *Shōbō genzō zuimonki,* is more generally catalogued under another author's name, i.e. that of Ejō, as the text states at the beginning of each chapter that he "compiled" it (*hen* 編).[27]

Even though the works listed are thus generally accepted as authentic, only the first three are preserved in a shape that was given to them by Dōgen himself[28], and of these, *Hōkyōki* is classified by its first copyist, Ejō, as a fragment.[29] The *Shōbō genzō,* which since the 18th century has become Dōgen's most famous and influential work, exists in several redactions comprising different numbers of fascicles in varying order.[30] Only the so-called 12 fascicle-*Shōbō genzō*, was probably edited by Dōgen himself. Paradoxically enough, this text was downplayed as a minor text by modern scholars.[31] The 75-fascicle redaction, which has achieved classical status, was put

[26] Dōgen 道元, *Dōgen Zenji Zenshū Genbun Taishō Gendaigoyaku* 道元禅師全集 原文対照現代語訳. *Hōkyōki*: DZZ 16; *Gakudō yōjin shū*: DZZ 14; *Shōbōgenzō*: DZZ 1–4; *Shōbōgenzō sanbyakusoku*: DZZ 14; *Eihei kōroku*: DZZ 1–4; *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki*: DZZ 16.

[27] Dōgen 道元 et al., *Shōbōgenzō ; Shōbōgenzō zuimonki* 正法眼蔵; 正法眼蔵随聞記, transl. Nishio Minoru 西尾實, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 81, Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1965: 317; 332; 356; 381; 394; 411.

[28]Concerning *Gakudō yōjin shū*, some presume that the compilation of the 10 chapters was effected by Ejō, but current scholarship believes that Dōgen is responsible for the whole work, see: Tsunoda Tairyū 角田泰隆, "Eihei shoso Gakudō yōjinshū 永平初祖学道用心集" , in: DZZ 14, Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2007: 417–29.

[29] DZZ 16, 100.

[30] Synopsis in Heine, "The Dōgen Canon. Dōgen´s Pre-Shōbōgenzō Writings and the Question of Change in His Later Works."; Ryōsuke Ohashi and Rolf Elberfeld, *Shōbōgenzō : ausgewählte Schriften anders philosophieren aus dem Zen*, Tokyo: Keiō University Press, 2006.

[31] A view strongly criticized in the 1990s by the "Critical Buddhists", see Hakamaya Noriaki 袴谷憲昭, *Dōgen to Bukkyō* 道元と仏教, Tōkyō: Daizō Shuppan, 1992.

together by Ejō,[32] who may have consulted with his master. Thus, while Dōgen is the undisputed author of the *Shōbō genzō's* single text units, he is not the originator of the work as it stands before us now. The *Shōbō genzō sanbyakusoku* is a collection of 300 *kōan*, mostly drawn from the Song-Era *Zongmen liang deng hui yao.*[33] While Dōgen has after some debate generally been accepted as its author, the only text originally composed by him in this work is the foreword.[34]

The *Eihei kōroku* is a classic collection of recorded sayings in the style of Chinese *wulu* (j. *goroku* 語録). Its first seven volumes present formal sermons that Dōgen delivered in the Dharma Hall (*hattō* 法堂) of his temples Kōshō hōrin-ji 興聖法輪寺 in Fukakusa (vol. 1) and Eihei-ji 永平寺 in Echizen province (today: Fukui prefecture; vol. 2-7). Volume 8 is a collection of informal sermons and so-called "Dharma Words", which may have been given in writing to some of Dōgen's adepts. Volume 9 contains verse commentary on *kōan,* and volume 10 doctrinal poetry. All parts of the *Eihei kōroku* are written in Sino-Japanese style (*kanbun* 漢文). Concerning Dōgen's authorship, the situation with vol. 9–10 and parts of vol. 8 is similar to that of the *Shōbō genzō*: while the single parts were written by Dōgen, each volume as a whole was edited by one of his pupils (vol. 8: Ejō; vol. 9 and 10: Sen'ne). For the larger part of the *Eihei kōroku,* however, the situation is more complicated: While vol. 1–7 are presented as records of what Dōgen said (and did) during his formal sermons, they are not collections of his writings. The compilers may have been able to draw on Dōgen's notes. However, as a formal sermon was an opportunity to perform the power of an enlightened master to spontaneously express his insight, drawing on his superior command of Zen lore as much as on his spiritual capacities, it is improbable that Dōgen ascended the high seat in the Dharma hall with lecture notes in hand, and that every word and action had been planned before. It seems more realistic to assume that Ejō, Sen'ne and Gien, the trusted disciples who recorded his sayings, reported what they heard and saw from memory, possibly consulting with the master himself and with his sources in the many instances where he drew on the tradition. If that is correct, we have to as-

[32] Imaeda, *Dōgen*, 175.

[33] Ishii Shūdō 石井修道, "Shinji Shōbō genzō 真字「正法眼蔵」." In: DZZ 14, Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2007: 431–42.

[34] Ibid.

sume, apart from possible memory gaps, a language gap between what he said and what was committed to writing, because *kanbun* (Sino-Japanese writing style) is not a spoken language and would have been all but unintelligible to his audience. Thus, the actual role and intellectual responsibility for the text is to some part obscured by a genre-specific tendency to present it as an immediate report of teachings seen and heard.

The *Shōbō genzō zuimonki* is purportedly a personal record of Ejō's of informal sermons, evening talks and dialogues with his master. If that were true, it would bring us even closer to Dōgen's diction and intentions than the *Eihei kōroku.* However, like the *Hōkyō-ki,* in which Dōgen recollected his encounters with his teacher Rujing, this work is strongly coloured by the interests and the personality of its writer(s).[35] Some contradictions between Dōgen's words in this work and in his own *Shōbō genzō* have been noticed, and linguistic evidence seems to suggest that the received text was not written in Dōgen's or Ejō's time, but 50 to 100 years later, between the end of the Kamakura and the middle of the Nanbokuchō period.[36] This would make the notion of Dōgen's authorship appear even more remote.

Author figuration in the Dōgen Canon

Since we find that most works in the Dōgen Canon are the result of a distribution of labour, with various constellations involved, intellectual responsibilities for the shape and content of the text in question are also distributed to varying degrees. *Table 2* shows an overview of the various responsibilities as they are attributed by the texts, and the overall image of the authorial figure they respectively convey.

As it indicates, *Bendōwa* and *Gakudō yōjinshū* are the only texts listed where all the aspects coincide. In terms of the attributed re-

[35] Azuma Ryūshin 東隆真 et al., "Shōbōgenzō Zuimonki 正法眼蔵　隨聞記" , in DZZ 16, Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 2003: 223.

[36] Imaeda, *Dōgen*: 178–182. Azuma does not mention these problems. He follows tradition in assuming that the text is based on Ejō's notes, being edited by his disciples (possibly Keizan Jōkin or Tettsu Gikai) before 1300 (this date being derived from references to the *Shōbō genzō zuimonki* in the *Denkōroku*. Azuma, "Shōbōgenzō Zuimonki", 223–25).

sponsibilities for the production of the text, Dōgen here appears almost as an author in the classical modern sense. Still, we should take note that he was operating under medieval circumstances, and that his own conceptualisation of his role is quite different from our modern understanding (see next paragraph).

Technically speaking, *Hōkyōki* might also be considered as a work "authored" by Dōgen, but it is a text that ardently strives to present not its writer, but his master Rujing as the real source of insight, judgement and, for the most part, knowledge and meaning. If it were not for his posthumous fame, and the same standards being applied as in the case of *Shōbō genzō zuimonki,* this work would have to be catalogued under the heading of Rujing and not of Dōgen.
In the case of Dōgen's *opus magnum,* the *Kana Shōbō genzō,* we find that responsibility for the text on the level of each fascicle resides with him (although some fascicles contain extensive quotes from Zen lore); but the overall organisation of the work and the selection of fascicles in each extant edition originated with Ejō, Gien and the other redactors.

The *kōan*-collection *Shōbō genzō sanbyakusoku* is a typical case of medieval authorship, insofar as it is a compilation that contains only a very small part of original composition by Dōgen. His function as an author lies mainly in providing knowledge of the sources, selecting the parts and their sequence and expressing his command and judgement of the tradition in this manner. With *Eihei kōroku* (Vol. 1–7), responsibility for the organisation, shape and wording of the text remains clearly with the "compilers" (Ejō and Sen'ne), who also have a testimonial function, vouching for the truthfulness of their record of Dōgen's words and deeds. The knowledge function is fulfilled by Dōgen, with whom also resides the authority of insight, judgement and meaning.

Finally, and from a positivistic point of view, all (internal) functions of authorship in *Shōbō genzō zuimonki* rest with its unnamed writers. Still, the text itself delegates responsibility for its shape, organisation and wording to Ejō, who figures as "editor" or "compiler", while Dōgen is treated as the ultimate source of knowledge, insight, judgement and even verbal formulation. This, then, could be regarded as a case of masked or obscured authorship: an author figuration in which, for strategic reasons, responsibility for the form and content of the written text is delegated to an established authority.

Indicators of authorial presence

To further corroborate our analysis, let us examine the indicators of authorship that the texts display. To sum up what has been explained in more detail in the introduction, there are a number of such indicators. If the author's name appears in the text or paratext, in association with the title or attestations of origination such as "wrote" or "compiled", we may infer that the text itself presents the person so named as its originator. Similarly, the use of a first-person pronoun or instances of self-referencing of the writer can be counted as explicit expressions of authorship. It is not important here as to whether these references are correct – in any case, they explicitly connect the text to someone who appears as its creator and is meant to *function* as its author. Addressing the reader e.g. by second person pronouns, appellations or exhortations may also be seen as fairly direct presentations of the author. More implicit signs of authorship are deictic adverbs like "here" and "now", which indicate a specific spatio-temporal position. Moral positions are expressed by evaluative, polemic or emotional terms. Explanations, unless referenced to a third party, indicate a source of knowledge and insight.

Obviously, the factors mentioned above cannot serve as objective criteria, which is why I prefer to use the term "indicators of authorial presence." There are two implications. Firstly, their indicative power depends on the context. Secondly, and more importantly, they do not prove authorship in the sense of what we called the "origination function". Instead, they convey the distribution of responsibilities expressed in the text itself, that is, its author figuration.

It is not possible here to present a full analysis of all the texts concerning these indicators. *Table 3* gives representative samples from each of the works mentioned before. Not surprisingly, it shows that Dōgen the author is present in distinctly divergent ways. I shall put aside *Bendōwa* for the moment, because this text will be treated in extenso in the next paragraph.

Gakudō yōjinshū is a tract that informs disciples about the essential moral and spiritual points in monastic training. Authorship is explicitly attested to, and the text is clearly positioned in space and

time.[37] It addresses[38] and exhorts[39] the reader and contains a polemic against unwelcome attitudes and behaviour.[40] The author clearly presents himself as a source of knowledge, insight and judgement. However, there is no expression of personal experiences, feelings or reflections.[41]

In contrast, *Hōkyōki* is a personal record of Dōgen's meetings with his master. The copyist notes that it was found among his writings after his death.[42] The author testifies to what he saw and heard; and, in doing this, he relates his own questions, opinions[43] and feelings[44]. As mentioned above, the authority of judgement and insight is clearly deferred to Rujing.

The *Kana Shōbō genzō* texts convey the most vivid feeling of authorial presence, in the sense of an author who is both tangible as a person, a writer and a source of insight, knowledge and judgement. The fascicle *Busshō*[45], which I take up here as an example, contains episodes of personal experience, attested to by the use of the first person pronoun.[46] Dōgen also directly addresses his readers with challenging remarks, exhortations and questions.[47] He passes on judgement, including ill-tempered polemic, he takes up and explains appropriate quotations from the tradition, and he exhibits his superior insight by correcting the words of past masters.[48]

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[37] *Tenpuku kōgo ninen sangatsu kyūnichi ni sho-su.* 天福甲午二年三月九日書 "written in the second (yang-wood-horse) year of Tenpuku, on the ninth day of the third month [30.3.1234]", DZZ 14, 92. *Wagachō* 我朝 "our dynasty [country]", DZZ 14, 93.

[38] *nanji* 汝 "you", DZZ 14, 92.

[39] *igyō wo kokorozasu koto nakare* 莫志易行 "don't strive after a simple practice", DZZ 14, 61; 94.

[40] *ima, guro no tomogara aruiwa bunseki wo utsushi* 今愚魯輩或記文籍 "these days, stupid people copy scriptures or ...", DZZ 14, 64; 94.

[41] All samples in the table taken from DZZ 14, 92–94.

[42] DZZ 16, 100.

[43] DZZ 16, 92.

[44] DZZ 16, 91.

[45] DZZ 1, 75–137.

[46] Cf. the paragraph starting *yo, un'yū no sono kami* 予、雲遊のそのかみ "in my time as a traveling monk", DZZ 1, 111–113.

[47] DZZ 1, 135.

[48] See the discussion of Gueishan Lingyou's sentence: "Sentient beings have no buddha-nature", DZZ 1, 116–119.

Moreover, by giving translations, creative readings and by critically arguing his own interpretation of the Chinese sources[49], he demonstrates his ability to adapt the traditional literature to his own idiom, helping to develop a Japanese style of discursive writing.[50]

Quite to the contrary, in *Shōbō genzō sanbyakusoku* the author appears only in the short preface. Dōgen denotes his position as the "Buddhist monk Dōgen who entered the [Empire of] Song and transmits the Dharma" by collecting and presenting, "some 2,180 years" after the Buddha, "the beauty of old", that is, expressions of past master's insight. While the selection of these cases presents a distinct view of the tradition, no further indications of the author are to be found in the main part of the text.[51]

If we accept Dōgen as the author of the formal sermons recorded in *Eihei kōroku* (which is what the text wants us to believe, since its editors figure not as authors but rather as compilers [*hen* 編]), we find again a rather strong presence indicated by the text. Vol. 1, which is taken up here as an example, displays numerous instances of self-referencing, usually through the term *sansō* 山僧, "this mountain monk".[52] In keeping with the genre of sermon, there are localising terms, polemic evaluations[53], emotional expressions[54] and exhortations[55], all of which work together to give the reader a strong feeling of encounter with the "master" (*shi* 師). The same is true for *Shōbō genzō zuimonki,* which in addition has Dōgen speaking in the first person.[56] Both texts thus employ many elements reinforcing the notion that, ultimately, the responsibility for their content and much of their shape resides with the revered master himself. To synthesise, the analysis of our material suggests that works categorised under the name of Dōgen were not necessarily written by him or under his supervision. His intellectual responsibility and his in-

[49] See especially the beginning of *Busshō,* DZZ 1, 75–79.

[50] Hisamatsu Sen'ichi 久松 潜一, *Nihon bungakushi: Chūsei* 日本文学史：中世, Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1968: 244.

[51] DZZ 14, 351.

[52] *Eihei kōroku* I, 32, DZZ 16, 35.

[53] *Kyōke sansha no hai* 教家算砂輩 "the sand-counting scholastics", *Eihei kōroku* I: 31, DZZ 10, 33.

[54] *Kintoku* 忻得 "bliss!", *Eihei kōroku* I, 116, DZZ 10, 88.

[55] *Kōin wo oshimubeshi* 光陰可惜 "you should dread the passing of time", *Eihei kōroku* I: 12, Ibid., Vol. 10, 13.

[56] *Yo* 予, DZZ 16, 105; *ware* 我, DZZ 16, 235.

volvement in their production varied to a great degree. Obviously, in the eyes of the tradition, the fact that a text was written and edited based on expressions and ideas presented by him (e.g. in orally delivered sermons and talks) legitimated attribution. In these cases, intellectual responsibility definitely outweighed the responsibility for the selection of contents, ordering, choice of written style, wording etc. It may thus seem that the role of the writer in medieval Japanese Zen-Buddhism was more of a scribe than that of an author. However, it should be noted that this role may often have been assumed in order to employ the authority of an established master for the sake of the scribe's agenda. This seems to be the case in *Shōbō genzō zuimonki.* Secondly, there are also many works actually composed by Dōgen, such as *Gakudō yōjinshū* or the *Shōbō genzō* tracts. These display a strong combination of personal experience and insight, consciousness of style, power of expression and authoritative judgement. This, then, sounds very close to the classical European model of authorship.

Among Dōgen's original compositions, there is one which displays an explicit attempt of the writer (stated to be Dōgen) to elucidate his own position. It may serve to show how he wanted his readers to understand his role and responsibilities in writing.

The Self-staging of the enlightened author

The text, *Bendōwa*[57]*,* was initially conceived as an independent tract. The colophon comes with a *sphragis,*[58] which states it was "written in the autumn of Kanki-yin-metal-hare [1231] by the Buddhist monk Dōgen who went to the Song [empire] and transmitted the Dharma"[59]. It is Dōgen's first major work, in which he establishes himself as an independent teacher. As the text is in mixed Japanese-Chinese style (*wakan konkōbun*), it has, after its re-discovery in the

[57] DZZ 1, 1–43.

[58] On this term, and a typology in reference to ancient Chinese poetry, see the contribution of Alexander Beecroft in this volume.

[59] *Kanki shinbō chū shūnichi nyū Sō denbō shamon Dōgen ki* 寛喜辛卯中秋日 入宋伝法沙門道元記, DZZ 1, 43.

18th century[60], been sometimes subsumed under the *Shōbō genzō*.[61] The general features of its author figuration are listed in *table 4.* As it indicates, *Bendōwa* is a text with an almost salient visibility of its author. This is especially so in a section at the beginning, where Dōgen, having exposed the main thesis, gives his credentials and motivations in writing.

In the following, slightly revised translation of Nishijima and Cross[62], the passage[63] reads:

> After I established the will to pursue the Dharma, I visited [good] counselors in every quarter of our land. I met Myōzen of Kennin [temple]. Nine seasons of frosts and of flowers swiftly passed while I followed him, learning a little of the customs of the Rinzai lineage. Only Myōzen had received the authentic transmission of the supreme Buddha-Dharma, as the most excellent disciple of the founding master, Master Eisai – the other students could never compare with him. I then went to the great Kingdom of Song, visiting [good] counselors in the east and west of Zhejiang and hearing of the tradition through the gates of the five lineages. At last I visited Zen Master Rujing of Dabai mountain, and there I was able to complete the great task of a lifetime of practice. After that, at the beginning of the great Song era of Shaoding, I came home determined to spread the Dharma and to save living beings – it was as if a heavy burden had been placed on my shoulders. Nevertheless, in order to wait for an upsurge during which I might discharge my sense of mission, I thought I would spend some time wandering like a cloud, calling here and there like a water weed, in the style of the ancient sages. Yet if there were any true practitioners who put the will to the truth first, being naturally unconcerned with fame and profit, they might be fruitlessly misled by false teachers and might needlessly throw a veil over right understanding. They might idly become drunk with self-deception, and sink forever into

[60] See Mizuno Yaoko 水野弥穂子, "'Shōbō genzō' no shohon sono ta ni tsuite 「正法眼蔵」の諸本その他について", in: *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系 81. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1965: 34–56, 50–51 for the history of the text.

[61] In the 95-fascicle edition, *Bendōwa* is fascicle 1; see Ōhashi Ryōsuke and Rolf Elberfeld, *Shōbōgenzō: ausgewählte Schriften: anders philosophieren aus dem Zen*. Tokyo: Keiō University Press, 2006: 257. In many editions, the text is given alongside with the *Shōbō genzō,* as in DZZ 1 or Ōkubo's edition of the collected works, which also contains an alternate version. (Ōkubo Dōshu 大久保道舟, Ed. by, Dōgen Zenji zenshū 道元禅師全集, Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō, 1969: 729–746; 747–764).

[62] Gudō Nishijima and Chodo Cross, Master Dogen's Shobogenzo (Vol. 1), Vol. 1, London: Windbell Publications, 1994: 2–3; transcription of Japanese and Chinese names altered to Hepburn/Pinyin style.

[63] DZZ 1, 4–6.

> the state of delusion. How would they be able to promote the right seeds of *prajñā*, or have the opportunity to attain the truth? If I were absorbed in drifting like a cloud or a water weed, which mountains and rivers ought they to visit? Feeling that this would be a pitiful situation, I decided to compile a record of the customs and standards that I experienced first-hand in the Zen monasteries of the great Kingdom of Song, together with a record of profound instruction which I have received and maintained. I will leave this record to people who learn in practice and are easy in the truth, so that they can know the right Dharma of the Buddha's lineage. This should not fail its true essence.[64]

Obviously, this passage establishes the author's legitimacy by substantiating his claim for competence and sincerity of motivation. The emphasis on his solitary lifestyle is important in the latter regard: it is a well-established and stable pattern indicating that the author is acting out of a higher purpose and has no immediate political ambitions for himself.[65] In relating his travels within the realm and to the Song Empire, the author underlines his earnest search for insight and testifies that what he writes is based on first-hand experience. He also names the source of his knowledge, claiming to have had access to all the major lineages of the Chan (Zen) school in China. Furthermore, he indicates his status as a master who has achieved and completed "the great task of a lifetime of practice" and is thus able to transmit the correct teaching of Buddha. This status is enhanced by the following paragraph, which elucidates the "true essence" through the story of direct, authentic transmission from the historical Buddha through Bodhidharma, the Indian patriarch who purportedly brought it to China, to the five lineages that developed there. Two propositions in this paragraph are of special importance: Firstly, Dōgen states that the different traditions within the Zen school "are of the one Buddha-mind-seal".[66] This statement is elaborated in other parts of *Bendōwa.* Time and again, Dōgen insists that the Buddhas and patriarchs share and transmit among

[64] The last sentence *kore shinketsu naramukamo* これ真訣ならむかも。(Ibid., Vol. 1, 6.) is translated by Nishijima and Cross somewhat idiosyncratically as "This may be a true mission.". The *Kokugo daijiten* defines *shinketsu* in direct reference to this passage as *makoto no michi* ("the true way"), *makoto no satori* ("true enlightenment"), *shinri* ("truth"), *goku'i* ("ultimate meaning"). Nihon Daijiten Kankōkai 日本大辞典刊行会, *Nihon kokugo daijiten : 11 : shiyota-sekon*, Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 1974: 152.

[65] Cf. the pertinent remarks of Roland Altenburger in respect to Jin Shentangs edition of the *Water Margin* text in this volume.

[66] *Tada ichi busshin-in nari* ただ一仏心印なり. DZZ 1, 7.

them the very same realiisation and practice of supreme enlightenment.[67] Secondly, Dōgen reiterates the Zen Buddhist conviction that this enlightenment and, therefore, the one and only authentic teaching, was transmitted to China only with Bodhidharma, and that it spread successfully after this momentous event. Characteristically, he adds: "We should hope that it will be the same in our country."[68] Read in the light of his underwriting *Bendōwa* as "the Buddhist monk Dōgen, who traveled to the Song and transmitted the Dharma", this remark suggests that his return to Japan was analogous to Bodhidharma's advent to China.

The claim for unity with Bodhidharma, and ultimately, Buddha, is corroborated by a theory of the "wondrous method" (*myōjutsu* 妙術) of seated meditation. At any instance of such practice, Dōgen says, the whole world of experience is mysteriously joined with all the Buddhas and patriarchs of the past, present and future in realisation of the "rightful awakening" (*shōgaku* 正覚).[69]

Whatever we may think of the validity of such a conceptualiisation of meditative practice, it surely supplies a rationale for Dōgen's aspiration to the rank of superior source of insight. In other words, it enables him to claim, with some credibility, to be not only the truthful recipient of an honourable and unique tradition, but, by the same token, to also have achieved a status on a par with previous patriarchs and the Buddha himself. As such, his judgements are authoritative, and his expressions exemplary models for study. By presenting himself as an author with immediate access to the Buddha's "mind-seal" itself, Dōgen sets the stage for his own canonisation.

In a sense, this is a model of "strong" authorship. Its special feature is that it combines a depersonalisation of the author with the integration of his personal life record. The ultimate spiritual authority rests on the claim to oneness with all the Buddhas and patriarchs. Insofar as he is enlightened, Dōgen does not speak as an individual; he reiterates and perhaps reformulates what all Buddhas and patriarchs have said before him. He can do that because of the claim that, through his practice, he has direct access to their insight and

[67] DZZ 1, 3; 6–7; 8; 11.

[68] *Waga kuni mo mata shika aramu koto wo koinegau beshi.* わがくにも又しかあらむ事をこひねがふべし。DZZ 1, 7.

[69] DZZ 1, 8.

he continuously receives their spiritual support in a way transcending temporal and spatial boundaries. However, he is also an expert, someone who can report on the down-to-earth details of everyday practice in the Song monasteries, since he has been there and seen it with his own eyes. Both sides are united by his theory of enlightenment, which posits that there is a oneness of essential insight which can only present itself when actualised at a given point in time and space; and it is actualised not by spontaneous actions flowing from enlightened intuition, but rather by constantly and reflectively following the precedent that is set forth by previous masters.

Conclusions

What does "authorship" mean with respect to a medieval Buddhist writer/teacher like Dōgen?

Dōgen was involved, to widely varying degrees, in the production of those works catalogued under his name, and figures as different authorial types – from the truthful disciple recording his master's words in *Hōkyōki* to the converse role of authoritative master, whose words are truthfully recorded by his own adepts (*Eihei kōroku*). Attribution of the "author function", that is, alleged intellectual and spiritual responsibility, was often deduced from Dōgen's status as an enlightened master, and did override other writers' actual involvement in the production of a work. The classification of authorship was thus partly a question of the relation between the actual writer and the person whose utterances were recorded in the document in question. Whatever actual and intellectual responsibility a writer had, without the appropriate credentials, he would figure as a compiler or scribe, and not as the actual source of the text's content. On the other hand, self-figuration in such a subservient role could be a convenient tool to borrow the hand, and the authority, of an acclaimed master. In a contested field where structural incentives encouraged that new texts produced for reading by outsiders employed a strictly formal style and relied heavily on quotations from accepted scriptural authorities, the author function was often disguised in the figure of a scribe or compiler. This, however, should not be interpreted as a lack of consciousness regarding the character of authorship, but rather as a conscious and variable choice with

regard to genre expectations as well as the pragmatic possibilities and risks at hand.

Dōgen's original compositions were mostly addressed to a trusted audience of close adepts, and not widely distributed. In these informal works, we can find an almost salient presence of him as an author – addressing his disciples, exhorting them, passing on judgement, relating autobiographical experience, and the like. However, this self-conscious presentation was ideologically backed up by a fusion with previous masters and even transcendent Buddhas. Thus, the pertinent concept of enlightened authorship conveyed in *Bendōwa* entails conceptional specifics that differentiate it from the modern notion of an "author." Such qualifications and Buddhist proclamations of "non-ego" notwithstanding, medieval Japanese Buddhist literature is not a literature without authors – quite to the contrary, it is a literature where the various elements of the author function are carefully and craftily controlled and configured.

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